



Daily Report

Sub-Saharan Africa

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28 November 1990

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Chad

President Habre in 'Good Health' in Ndjamen

AB2711181490 Paris AFP in French 1732 GMT
27 Nov 90

[Text] Libreville, 27 Nov (AFP)—President Hisséin Habré, who nearly fell into the hands of Idriss Déby's rebels on 25 November in eastern Chad, was in good health today in the Chadian capital, Ndjamen, according to various informed sources in the region. Yesterday President Habré returned to Ndjamen, from where he is said to have reassured several persons who were worried about his situation, according to the same sources.

For several days the Chadian head of state had been on the battlefield to organize a counteroffensive against the rebels led by Mr. Idriss Déby. Yesterday, Idriss Déby's movement announced in a communiqué that they had seized two presidential escort vehicles northeast of Abeche in the region of Iriba and Tine. "Our fighters are combing the field to find him if he is still there," the communiqué added.

Ndjamen on RFI's 'Open Psychological War'

AB2711210490 Ndjamen Domestic Service in French
1900 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Text] The communiqués issued by the High Command of the Chadian National Armed Forces [FANT] are a lashing denial of the false and injurious information Radio France Internationale [RFI] has been giving for some time now. Since yesterday, RFI has attained new heights in the psychological war being waged against Chad.

Yes, it is no longer misinformation that RFI has been practicing because misinformation can sometimes be accidental and involuntary. One would rather say that this is an open psychological war. It is an attack arranged with other media that RFI has been waging against us. To assert that the FANT have been defeated and that the president of the Republic is personally on the run and to say that people are being forced to contribute to the war effort go beyond the normal framework of information and affects relations between states. By this affront to the president of the Republic of Chad and the institutions he commands, RFI has gone too far in its crusade against our country.

With RFI, as everyone knows, being part of the French public service, it is difficult to think that its blunders are not a deliberate willingness to harm Chad and weaken the morale of its people and its army. It constitutes elements of conspiracy and also an act whose ramifications can be attributed to neocolonialist circles who seek revenge. Henceforth, it is clear that RFI's information no longer obeys the fundamental rules governing the work of journalists if this official radio clearly refuses to verify

the sources of its information, especially concerning important issues with serious consequences.

If RFI thinks that it has the right to defend Libya and its mercenaries, it can also stop practicing journalism by putting itself resolutely at the service of occult forces and other lobbies whose avowed intention is to subject our country. These forces, whose racist and colonialist tendencies are unfortunately still alive, have never accepted that any African state should be able to express the slightest desire for independence and insubordination.

RFI and its partners can be assured that Chadians have been toughened by a long experience acquired from physical or moral external aggressions and interferences against it. Chad will not let itself fall into this new trap, and firmly and calmly its army will pursue its mission of defending and liberating the fatherland.

As a result of this mind poisoning and misinformation campaign being carried out by RFI, Minister of Foreign Affairs Acheik ibn-Oumar summoned the French ambassador to Chad, François Xavier Gendreau, to a meeting this morning.

During the meeting, Minister Acheik ibn-Oumar informed the French Government of Chad's strong protest to RFI's misinformation and mind poisoning campaign against Chad. RFI, which is a state radio, is being manipulated by some people who want to harm relations between Ndjamen and Paris. They have cooperated to such a point that RFI carries offensive articles coming from second-rate correspondents in Ndjamen.

One such correspondent, Pierre Vanoni, who was expelled from Ndjamen this morning by the Chadian Government, is a mere TF-1 photographer, who is officially in Chad to take tourist pictures in the Borkou-Ennedi-Tibesti Region. Many people who listen to RFI were able to discover that the TF-1 photographer, an RFI correspondent at the time, was engaged in a real campaign of calumny against our country. He abused the confidence of the Chadian people by demanding an entry visa to take tourist pictures, and this tourist photographer engaged in a terrible act of falsehood. It is his elements that served as the bases for the mind poisoning campaign that RFI has been transmitting to his listeners over the past few days.

Gabon

New Government Formed, Opposition Included

AB2711151490 Paris AFP in English 0418 GMT
27 Nov 90

[Text] Libreville, Nov 27 (AFP)—Gabonese Prime Minister Casimir Oye-Mba on Monday announced the formation of a new government of national union including members of the opposition following the West African country's first multiparty vote in a quarter of a century. Legislative elections last September and October saw seven opposition parties take 56 seats to the 64 won by

the ruling Democratic Party of President Omar Bongo, breaking its decades-long monopoly of the vote.

The Democratic Party has retained a majority of the portfolios in the new 36-member cabinet, with about a third offered to members of the opposition or to persons of no party affiliation.

The opposition parties represented in the new government were the MORENA-Bucheron [National Recovery Movement-Lumberjacks], led by Father Paul Mba Abesole, MORENA, the Gabonese Party of Progress, the Gabonese Socialist Union and the Association for Socialism in Gabon.

The key ministries of foreign affairs (Ali Bongo), territorial administration (Antoine Mboumbou-Miyakou), defense (Fidele Magnaga), and finance (Paul Toungui) remained in the same hands. The Information Ministry changed its name to the Ministry of Communication but retained Jean-Remy Penty-Bouyiki at the helm. Andre-Dieudonne Berre, formerly chief executive of Shell-Gabon, was named minister of commerce and industry.

The previous transition government, named in April, resigned last week. Mr. Oye-Mba was reappointed to head a new national union government following multi-party elections this fall. The new Gabonese Government is to be sworn in Tuesday. The newly-elected National Assembly is to hold its first plenary session on Wednesday.

Rwanda

Minister Meets Financial Donors' Representatives

EA2711142790 Kigali Domestic Service in French
1800 GMT 26 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Planning Minister Augustin Ndirabatware today briefed representatives of Rwanda's various financial donors on the major directions of the Rwandan structural adjustment program adopted recently by Rwanda. This took place during a meeting held at the UNDP headquarters in Kigali. The meeting was chaired jointly by the planning minister and the representative in charge of the UNDP office, (Michel Chalonz). The World Bank representative in Rwanda, (Emmanuel Akpa), took part in the briefing on the structural adjustment program, as well as two members of the structural adjustment program follow-up commission. [passage omitted]

The planning minister informed the financial donors that the Rwandan Government had already asked for assistance amounting to 8,760,000 (?special) drawing

rights from the IMF for the first year of the structural adjustment program, the total amount asked for the three years being 30.6 million special drawing rights. The Rwandan Government had also sent another request for at least 90 million special drawing rights from the World Bank for the 1991-93 period. But since the resources from the IMF combined with those from the World Bank will not be sufficient to cover the entire program Rwanda will need an additional \$100 to 110 million (?over three years) from donors. This will be the special program for Africa. It is moreover legitimate that the size of assistance requested be increased, given the damage resulting from the armed aggression from Uganda, since the estimates of the needs were made before the attack. [passage omitted]

Rebels Say Over 90 Army Soldiers Killed

AB2711150090 Paris AFP in English 1059 GMT
27 Nov 90

[Excerpt] Kampala, Nov 27 (AFP)—Rwandan rebels claimed to have killed more than 90 government soldiers in fighting last week, including the Army's operational commander in Gabiro, northern Rwanda, a Ugandan newspaper reported Tuesday. The NEW VISION daily, quoting a press release by the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), said the commander, identified only as Major Rwendeye, had been killed in an ambush near the northern garrison of Gabiro on November 18. It also reported that rebels had cut communications lines between the Rwandan capital, Kigali, and Buhita, on the Ugandan border. The rebels ambushed a convoy carrying an unspecified number of troops and supplies from Kigali to the border post between Buhengyere and Buhita, the paper quoted a rebel source as saying, without specifying when the ambush took place.

Ugandans living close to the border told journalists on Monday that they had seen about 500 rebel fighters on the Rwandan side. The rebel claims came a day after Rwandan state radio said government troops had killed 282 rebels in battles last week during which they recaptured the western town of Kibuye, which the rebels had briefly overrun. The rebels said six of their fighters had been killed in Kibuye on November 20, and in northern Rwanda. They said they had killed 15 government soldiers. The RPF press release, signed by deputy commander Colonel Alex Kanyarengwe, said they killed the other soldiers in battles elsewhere, without specifying the locations. Rwandan radio had said 195 rebels were killed when the Army retook Kibuye.

The rebels also claimed that a government helicopter gunship had attacked government troops and civilians by mistake in Katebe, northern Rwanda. The helicopter has later crashed into a hill, they said. [passage omitted]

Kenya

Moi Makes Speech Upon Arrival From Swaziland

AB2511121690 Nairobi Domestic Service in Swahili
1142 GMT 24 Nov 90

[Excerpts from President Daniel arap Moi's speech at Jomo Kenyatta International Airport upon arrival from the Preferential Trade Area, PTA, Summit in Mbabane, Swaziland on 24 November—live or recorded; passages within quotation marks spoken in English]

[Excerpts] So ladies and gentlemen and schoolchildren, I am happy to be back home, and on behalf of my colleagues with whom I went to Swaziland, we thank God for arriving home safely. [applause] As you know, I have been the PTA chairman for a year, and I had to go to Swaziland to "hand over" authority to the leader of that country on behalf of the PTA members. As you also know, these countries who have united, about 18 or 19 countries, are the countries which cooperated to buy things among themselves. Kenya is in the vanguard because they regard us as rich since we pay fees which make the organization function. We are leading here and there [applause] because of the peace which enabled us to build our country. [passage omitted]

Since when has a white man loved you, the African? If you believe this, you are the biggest idiot of all. Is it not today that I am coming from an African country? How many ambassadors do you see here? Just the French and the Polish—only two. A black man—I am sorry for you [laughter], and you say that I am loved. What are you? Nothing at all? If you do not naturally love yourself and are not motivated by hatred—I do not hate the white man, I only tell them: Recognize me; I am your equal and that is what I want. [applause] I am open. "I do not use diplomacy." Why should I use diplomacy? For what? I say what I want to say.

Therefore we can face our problems without running away. Will he give you something for free? Since when? You get money (?from) the hardship of the same person who needs help in many things. In Nairobi, there are many people with no jobs, nothing. I hope the factory I will open on 30 November will employ more than 2,000 people. [applause]

That is one thing I will do. I will also try to look into Nairobi's affairs. You know the Nairobi Kenya African National Union officials should show leadership, not fear politics. What are politics? You speak the truth. Speak the truth. If it is to say or do what is wanted, then do it. A few try to do this, but sometimes they are afraid. What are you afraid of? A leader does not fear; he must speak the truth.

As for those in Kawangware or elsewhere: City commissioners, you should not jump on them so much. See that the citizens are being informed. Explaining things to citizens is better than pushing them around. What we want are sanitary kiosks where a person has proper seating. These affairs should be arranged properly. [passage omitted]

We must have "discipline." I have many university students who are looking for jobs. If a person does not want to work, let him go rest. [applause] We should strive to know that we have authority to help citizens in every way. From now on, there should be no noise about this democracy. When the world is ruined, where will you search for democracy? We have not (?opposed) anybody. What we want to do is give citizens the right to do things, to be heard. We do not want to damage and conceal; we want open affairs.

Therefore, I am happy to be here. Today was not the day for delivering a speech. It is a day to say I have arrived, thank you. Because there are many people at the airport I must thank them and all the dancers who have come here. [applause] [passage omitted]

I will not play with those who try to spoil things. I have tried to have mercy on them, and I have tried to do things openly so they could see, but they did not see. They think they can hide [words indistinct]. Who are they, that they spoil the citizens' affairs? [passage omitted]

Government Supports 'All UN Resolutions' on Gulf

EA2711200690 Nairobi Domestic Service in English
1600 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The Kenyan Government has said that it supports all UN resolutions passed with regard to the Gulf crisis and said that it would like Iraq to leave Kuwait as well as release all hostages without conditions. The minister for foreign affairs and international cooperation, Mr. Wilson Ndolo Ayah, said in Nairobi today that Kenya's stand on this world issue is in accordance with President Moi's basic belief that peace should prevail everywhere in the world. He was meeting European Community ambassadors who called on him under the instructions of their governments and the EC to seek the Government of Kenya's stand in the Gulf crisis and on the EC stand on hostages issued at the European Council in Rome on 27 and 28 October.

Mr. Ayah said that President Moi would continue using his enormous influence to ensure that Kenya's position was well understood. He urged the ambassadors that the same standard of concern being expressed for the Gulf crisis should be maintained wherever else in the world it was needed. The permanent secretary in the ministry, Mr. Bethwel Kiplagat, and the chief of protocol, Mr. Njuguna Mahugu, were present during the meeting.

Government Sources Say Meeting 'Positive'*MB2811083990 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0803 GMT 28 Nov 90*

[Text] Pretoria Nov 28 SAPA—The outcome of this week's meeting between President de Klerk and African National Congress [ANC] Deputy President Nelson Mandela was considered as "good" and "positive" by top government sources. They said despite indications that there was still disagreement on the question of the ANC's mass mobilisation policy, the statement released after the meeting "indicates we're once again on the road to reconciliation."

They added that government was anxious that negotiations should get underway as soon as possible, in order to minimise interference from the radical left and right. They said government was ready to enter into negotiations early next year, "in the letter and spirit of the Pretoria Minute," and that it regretted indications from the ANC that there may be a delay.

Mr. Mandela on Tuesday [27 Nov] described the meeting as "productive" and "cordial," but his unusual reluctance to answer reporters' questions after the meeting indicated that he and Mr. De Klerk still differed on key issues.

According to observers, these ranged from government's opposition to mass mobilisation campaigns, and the status of Umkhonto we Sizwe [spear of the nation, ANC military wing], to alleged security forces involvement in violence against black people. They agreed however to meet regularly and to make arrangements for these issues to be addressed at various levels.

Ciskei Alleges Plot To Overthrow Council*MB2711142390 Umtata Capital Radio in English
1300 GMT 27 Nov 90*

[Text] In the wake of last week's attempted coup in Transkei, neighboring Ciskei says it has uncovered a plot to overthrow its government. Louise Flannagan reports:

[Flannagan] Ciskei says that former member of its Military Council Colonel Mangwane Guzana plotted to overthrow the government and install himself as new ruler. Guzana, who was on the original four-man Military Council set up in Ciskei after the March coup, fled to Transkei earlier this month. At the time he said he had heard he was to be detained for the third time since being dropped from the council some months ago.

Now Ciskei says they have asked Transkei to hand Guzana over to face charges of treason. Another former member of the Military Council, Major Peter Hauser, was released this morning after a brief court appearance. Ciskei says he will be called as a state witness in Guzana's trial.

Transkei's Major General Bantu Holomisa confirmed that Guzana had asked his government for refuge. He

said Ciskei has asked for Guzana to be extradited but he has not had time to deal with it yet.

Holomisa Said in Plot*MB2711152490 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1456 GMT 27 Nov 90*

[Text] Bisho Nov 27 SAPA—Former Ciskeian military councillor Peter Hauser has alleged that Transkeian military ruler Bantu Holomisa was involved in a plot to overthrow his Ciskeian counterpart, Brigadier Oupa Gozo.

A report from SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio news said Major Hauser was speaking in Bisho, where he was released from detention on Tuesday [27 Nov] morning after the withdrawal of charges of treason against him. He said that Colonel Mangwane Guzana, whom he also named in connection with the alleged plot, had told him of secret meetings with Gen Holomisa in East London. Col Guzana claimed the Transkeian leader had indicated that he would help to topple Brig Gqozo from power.

Major Hauser said that, shortly before his arrest in September, he had been shown a letter of resignation for Brig Gqozo to sign and appointing Col Guzana to succeed him. Major Hauser said he had indicated at the time that he had no interest in the plot against Brig Gqozo, whom he had assisted in toppling President Lennox Sebe in March this year.

Col Guzana is at present in Umtata, where he fled after jumping bail in Ciskei a few days before last week's abortive coup in Transkei. He faces charges of terrorism in Ciskei.

On Tuesday the attorney-general for Ciskei, Mr W.F. Jurgens, said in a statement to SAPA he had perused the police document about the events which had given rise to the arrest of Maj Hauser, and had come to the conclusion there had been plans afoot to subvert and overthrow the present Ciskei government led by Brig Gqozo. The government would have been replaced by another military government under leadership of Col Guzana, who was formerly a member of Brig Gqozo's government.

"Having given serious thought to the matter, I have decided to withdraw the charge of treason against Mr Hauser and, instead, to call him as a state witness if necessary in the intended prosecution of Col Guzana and others. Col Guzana is presently outside Ciskei, and steps will now be taken to have him extradited to stand trial in Ciskei on personal charges which will include a charge of treason."

Holomisa Denies Accusations

MB2711210790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2033 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] East London Nov 27 SAPA—Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa on Tuesday [27 Nov] dismissed claims by a former member of Ciskei's Military Council, Maj Peter Hauser, that he was involved in a plot to overthrow Ciskei's military government. He suggested the claims were intended to keep him "under pressure" following the successful routing of last week's attempt to overthrow the government in Umtata. He said Maj Hauser may have been paid by people "with nefarious objectives" to spread propaganda to try to discredit the Transkeian government.

SABC radio news reported that Maj Hauser made the claims in Bisho, where he was released from detention on Tuesday morning after the withdrawal of treason charges against him. Maj Hauser is reported to have claimed that another former State Council member, Col Mangwane Guzana, who he said was also involved in the alleged plot, had told him of secret meetings with Gen Holomisa in East London. Col Guzana had said Gen Holomisa indicated he would help to oust Ciskei's military ruler, Brig Oupa Gqozo. Col Guzana fled to Transkei last week shortly before he was to appear in court on charges of terrorism, and Transkei is considering a request by Ciskei to hand him over.

Gen Holomisa said he had no knowledge of Maj Hauser's claims, and denied having met Col Guzana in East London "or anywhere, before he came to Transkei last week." He also denied knowing Maj Hauser. Gen Holomisa said the claims were not new; they had been raised between himself and Brig Gqozo at their first meeting in Bisho.

"We refuted those claims and said they were free to substantiate their claims, and dismissed them to the satisfaction, at the time, of the Ciskei government. Certain proposals were made between the two countries, that in the event of such a thing (a coup plot) emanating... the two security forces should immediately meet" to discuss the claims. We told Ciskei that we feel it was a campaign to destabilise and divide... Ciskei and Transkei. We have no plans to do that," he said.

Ciskei's official spokesman, Mr Ian Dixon, said the claims had come from Maj Hauser, who was "free to say what he likes," and not from the council.

Further comment from Ciskei would be withheld until Brig Gqozo was fully aware of the substance of Maj Hauser's accusations, Mr Dixon said.

Speaking to SABC on Tuesday, Maj Hauser said that, shortly before his arrest in September, he had been shown a letter of resignation for Brig Gqozo to sign, appointing Col Guzana to succeed him. Maj Hauser said he had indicated at the time that he had no interest in the plot against Brig Gqozo, whom he had assisted in toppling former President Lennox Sebe, in March.

Ciskei's attorney-general, Mr W.F. Jurgens, said on Tuesday that his study of police documents concerning the arrest of Maj Hauser had led him to conclude there had been plans afoot "to subvert and overthrow" Brig Gqozo's government, and replace it with another military government under Col Guzana.

"Having given serious thought to the matter, I have decided to withdraw the charge of treason against Hauser and, instead, to call him as a state witness if necessary in the intended prosecution of Col Guzana and others. Col Guzana is presently outside Ciskei, and steps will now be taken to have him extradited to stand trial in Ciskei on personal charges which will include a charge of treason," Mr Jurgens said.

Both Col Guzana and Maj Hauser were members of Brig Gqozo's four-man Council of State which assumed power from Mr Sebe in March. Both were subsequently axed from the council and detained.

Implication Denied

MB2811114190 Umtata Capital Radio in English
0800 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Ciskei's attorney general has denied reports from state run radio [as heard] that he implicated Transkei's military leader in an alleged coup plot to overthrow Brigadier Oupa Gqozo. Attorney General Jurie Jurgens told Capital the claim appears to be a misquote by SABC [South African Broadcasting Corporation] radio.

[Begin Jurgens recording] All I said yesterday was that I was satisfied that there is evidence showing that a plot has been hatched to suppress and overthrow the military government of General [title as heard] Gqozo. I had not mentioned the name of Gen. Holomisa in my press statement. I understand that in a press interview given by Major Hauser he said in a (?referent) interview that Colonel Guzana had planned to have the backing of Gen. Holomisa. [end recording]

Official Soviet Delegation Arrives 27 Nov

MB2711185690 Johannesburg Television Service
in English 1820 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] For the first time an official Soviet delegation is visiting South Africa. The Soviets are here with the apparent purpose of boosting their economic links with this country.

[Begin video recording] [Correspondent Cliff Saunders] The high-powered Soviet delegation consists mainly of those involved in economic issues, which naturally is one of the main problems confronting the Soviet Union today. The delegation of seven men and a woman was met at the airport by the minister of trade and industry, Mr. Kent Durr, and other senior officials of his department.

Heading the delegation is Mr. A.V. Chernuchin, prominent member of the Soviet Council of Ministers, who spoke through an interpreter.

[Chernuchin in Russian, fading into English translation] We also understand that this is a very unique opportunity, and we are trying to do our best to establish warm and very well-received relations between the people of our two countries.

[Saunders] What else do you hope to achieve, particularly insofar as possible economic relations, an improvement in economic relations, are concerned?

[Chernuchin] Basically, what they are trying to do is reevaluate and evaluate, again and again, the potential and the possibilities available, as well as put in mutual effort between our two countries, and specifically the problem of Chernobyl, which needs to be resolved on a world scale and needs to be looked at.

[Saunders] Minister Durr, the visit over here, as mentioned, is unique. Why was it decided to invite the Soviet delegation?

[Durr] Well, we are reciprocating. We had the pleasure of being received by these gentlemen in Russia ourselves a few short months ago, and therefore it is delightful for us to have them here. You know that there are vast changes taking place under the very dynamic leadership of the various political leaders in the Soviet Union. There are huge changes of historic significance taking place there. We are aware of the historic changes taking place in South Africa, in southern Africa, and I think, in these circumstances, it is normal and it is good and perhaps to be expected that we should talk to each other. There are many fields where we can fruitfully interact with each other.

Mr. Chernuchin has mentioned one, that in the whole ecoindustrial field, in the whole economic field, the field is fallow. We have been separated for a very long time, and there are very many things we can do together.

[Saunders] Shortly after their arrival the delegation left for the Union Buildings for a meeting with the state president, Mr. F.W. de Klerk. No statements were issued, and there were no photo opportunities. The discussions with the state president were followed by a meeting with the minister of finance, Mr. Barend du Plessis.

Tomorrow the delegation continues its fact-finding mission, which will include meetings with a wide variety of prominent businessmen and industrialists, and also tours of various important industries. [end recording]

Cautious Reaction to Trade

MB281111190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0836 GMT 28 Nov 90

[By Adrienne Carlisle]

[Text] Pretoria Nov 28 SAPA—A high-ranking business delegation from the Soviet Union on Wednesday [28

Nov] took part in a seminar in Pretoria with South African Government and business figures in the hope of establishing links between the two countries.

The delegation—which includes Mr. A. V. Chernuchin of the Council of Ministers of the USSR and Mr. S. Cumba, deputy for the minister of finance, and various high-profile businessmen—is on a week-long visit to South Africa during which they will meet leading businessmen, government figures and the leadership of the ANC [African National Congress].

The delegation reacted cautiously to a question at an impromptu press conference regarding official trade relations being established between South Africa and the Soviet Union. Mr. Chernuchin said however that with the positive political process taking place in South Africa, he hoped they would be allowed to build normal economic relations with South Africa.

Trade, Industry and Tourism Minister Kent Durr said South Africa and the Russians were the poorer for not having had a constructive relationship in the past. "Both societies will be enriched by having a positive relationship." He said the visit by the delegation was a step towards an improvement in the relationship between South Africa and the USSR.

Government Extends Trade Arrangement With Turkey

MB2711114990 Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY
in English 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Report by Edyth Bulbring: "Turkey-SA Trade Deal"]

[Text] SA has extended its preferential trade arrangement with Turkey and has added more than 120 categories of imports to the preferential list from January 1.

According to Friday's [23 Nov] government gazette, this new agreement—which also excludes more than 50 previous categories—will be administered on an annual basis from January 1 and no longer on a six-monthly basis.

The new arrangement allows Turkish exporters to apply for permits on behalf of SA importers to import specified goods at a ceiling duty of 3 percent and a rebate of the full surcharge.

The changes follows a mission last December from the Istanbul Chamber of Commerce to improve Turkey's unequal trade balance with SA.

Included in the additional categories are frozen shrimps and prawns, a number of woven fabrics, some glassware, iron and steel pipe fittings, machine tools, video recording apparatus and certain furniture. The additions were agreed to after consultation with organised commerce and industry, a Trade and Industry spokesman said.

Minister Says State Prepared for Education System

MB2711124490 Johannesburg Domestic Service
in English 1100 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The minister of national education, Mr. Louis Pienaar, says the government is prepared to negotiate a new education system as part of the new constitutional dispensation.

In an address read on his behalf at the (Edgar Torum) congress in Bloemfontein by the director general of his department, Dr. Johan Gawe, Mr. Pienaar said that in the negotiation process emphasis will be placed on the rights of individuals and groups. He said an education model will be rejected on sociopolitical and educational grounds. [sentence as heard]

Moreover, it would be very difficult to gain support for a system if people believed that it was still applying discriminatory social and political criteria.

Bop, ANC 28 Nov Talks 'Shrouded' in Secrecy

MB2811134290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1110 GMT 28 Nov 90

[By Johnny Masilela]

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 28 SAPA—Secrecy shrouded talks between the African National Congress [ANC] and the Bophuthatswana [Bop] Government in Mmabatho on Wednesday.

Local media representatives as well as government officials said they did not even have an idea where the meeting was being held.

The Bophuthatswana Government has not officially confirmed the meeting, but on Wednesday sources close to local ANC chairman, Mr. Job Mokgoro, told SAPA he had an appointment at President Lucas Mangope's office.

National ANC spokesman Gill Marcus on Tuesday confirmed Wednesday's meeting but made it clear the ANC delegation, led by Mr. Thabo Mbeki, was "not available to the press" before the talks.

It was also up to the ANC delegation whether or not to release a statement after the talks.

Azapo Accuses ANC of Bad Faith About Talks

MB2711212190 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2014 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Cape Town Nov 27 SAPA—Thursday's [29 Nov] peace summit of black political organisations, called by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, suffered a setback on Tuesday night when the Azanian People's Organisation [Azapo] accused the ANC [African National Congress] camp of spreading "a lie" about it.

"It is clearly the case that our friends in the negotiating camp of the 'liberation' movement are resorting to tactics of slander and rumour-mongering as a strategy to pressure Azapo into negotiation of the De Klerk-ANC type," said Azapo's president, Prof Itumeleng Mosala.

His strongly-worded attack on the eve of the peace talks could jeopardize the prospects of success at Thursday's summit which is aimed at achieving unity and peace among black political groups.

When he called for the summit, Archbishop Tutu said black political movements should plan a joint strategy on negotiations, adopt a code of conduct for political dealings, and decide how to handle factional violence. Although progress on some issues may be made on Thursday, Tuesday night's statement by Azapo and the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party indicates there are still unresolved tensions among the political groups.

In his statement, Prof Mosala attacked a report in the "ANC-aligned NEW NATION" which stated that Azapo and the Pan Africanist Congress had held secret exploratory talks with the government.

The report came "in the wake of violence against Azapo members by the ANC supporters in areas like Bekkersdal and kwaNdebele."

"Our view is that as the violence comes to be seen by the black community for what it is, that is, the result of inherent undemocratic tendencies and the will to hegemonise and control rather than persuade politically, greater desperation is going to set in among our 'comrades' in the negotiating camp. The truth is this: Azapo has declined the government's invitation to take part in exploratory talks, emphasising that it is only prepared to take part in discussions on the future of the country through a constituent assembly democratically elected on the basis of one person one vote. No secret exploratory talks have taken place with the government. That is a lie which must be seen in the light of the desperation now setting in within the negotiating camp of the liberation movement," Prof Mosala said.

Venda Seeks Reincorporation; Negotiation Table

MB271121090 Johannesburg THE STAR
in English 27 Nov 90 p 29

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "Back to the Fold"]

[Text] Venda's military ruler, Gabriel Ramushwana, wants the nominally independent territory to be reincorporated into South Africa sooner rather than later.

Brigadier Ramushwana, who assumed power on April 5 after toppling Frank Ravele in a bloodless coup, believes that it is not necessary to hold a referendum on whether or not Venda should be re-united with South Africa.

He has no doubt that the vast majority of Venda's 500,000-plus people favour reincorporation and that a

referendum will merely establish the obvious, and unnecessarily delay Venda's reintegration into South Africa.

But if South Africa insists on a referendum or an alternative form of popular vote to establish that Venda's people are willingly surrendering their "independence", Brigadier Ramushwana will not object, provided South Africa pays for it.

A physically big man, Brigadier Ramushwana says unequivocally: "Venda will be incorporated. It will be suicidal for Venda to go it alone."

The reason why he is anxious to move ahead as speedily as possible on reincorporation is simple: he wants Venda to have a seat, and thus a say, at the negotiating table where a constitution for a new, non-racial South Africa will be hammered out.

"If Venda is not incorporated before the negotiations, it will mean we will be accorded observer status only," he observes. "If we are reincorporated we will become South African citizens with the right to participate."

Brigadier Ramushwana, who served with the South African Police before being transferred to the newly formed Venda National Force after Venda became "independent" in 1977, expects to meet President de Klerk before the end of the year. He will raise the question of reincorporation.

"What we are going to suggest is that it's obvious that Venda's people are interested in reincorporation. If (he) accepts that without insisting on a referendum, we would really appreciate that."

Assuming Brigadier Ramushwana succeeds in securing a place for Venda at the negotiating table, the pivotal question is whether it will align itself with or against the African National Congress [ANC] or, to put it differently, with or against Mr. de Klerk's National Party.

The short answer is that Brigadier Ramushwana is keeping his options open although there are fears in ANC circles in Venda that his past history as a South African security policeman may predispose him towards Mr. de Klerk.

The scepticism of ANC supporters is reflected in a headline in the pro-ANC publication, *Bugle*. It pointedly asks whether Brigadier Ramushwana is a Moses or Judas.

Of Mr. de Klerk, Brigadier Ramushwana says: "I am very much impressed by him. He is a man dedicated to meaningful change. He dared to create a new South Africa. I also appreciate his guts."

Asked for his assessment of ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who visited Venda recently, Brigadier Ramushwana replies: "Ah well, he is a good old man. I would say he is an intelligent old man."

Invited to define his attitude towards the ANC, he states: "One can think of an alliance with any of the political parties (at the negotiating table)....It could be the ANC. It could be the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress]. It could be the National Party....I think everything will depend on the negotiations."

Inhaling from his cigarette, he adds: "There is a general feeling among blacks that we should go for black organisations. But there are so many black organisations."

The observation that Mr. Mandela is trying to unite black organisations into a common front elicits a quick response: "But President de Klerk is doing the same."

Brigadier Ramushwana has been described by his detractors as a "South African Defence Force agent." He does not falter when it is put to him.

"I am a professional soldier. The only place where I could be trained was in South Africa. Even (Transkei's Major-General Bantu) Holomisa was trained in South Africa. We were all trained in South Africa....I am not an agent of South Africa's."

Brigadier Ramushwana's political foes point out that he served as a security policeman in South Africa, claiming that he even "infiltrated" the ANC as a police spy.

He admits to service in the SAP [South African Police], saying: "I served in the SAP security branch for several years. I mean that was also part of my calling."

He denies, however, that he insinuated himself into ANC ranks. "It is unfounded. If these people can give facts to substantiate their allegations I would really appreciate it. They are unfounded. Their aim is to discredit me."

Brigadier Ramushwana, aged 49, describes himself as a "servant of the people," noting: "I am paid from public funds." He lives in the same modest house that he occupied before the coup, leaving the grandiose mansion built by Venda's founding president, Patrick Mphahlele, as a sign of greed and folly.

The ANC branch chairman in Sibasa, Magwendzha Nphaphuli, does not dispute Brigadier Ramushwana's contention that public opinion is strongly in favour of reincorporation. But he warns that ANC cadres will protest vigorously against any attempt by Venda to secure a seat at the negotiating table.

Venda's people should be represented by the participating parties, he says. Most of them will be happy to be represented by the ANC. Those that are not are free, however, to join rival political organisations and entrust their grievances and aspirations to them.

But, Mr. Nphaphuli adds, the political entity Venda can no more be represented at the negotiating table than, say, the Transvaal.

Former Transkeian President Flees Territory

MB2811054290 Johannesburg SAPA in English
2135 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 27 SAPA—Former Transkeian President Kaiser Matanzima fled the territory on Tuesday and appealed to the South African Government for protection from an alleged plot to assassinate him, the Business Day reported.

The government in Pretoria received a cable from Chief Matanzima asking it to intervene as he feared for his life. The cable was sent at 5pm, half an hour before Chief Matanzima checked out of Queenstown's Royal Hotel. Attempts to trace him on Tuesday night proved fruitless. It is believed he left his farm in Ezibeleni in Transkei in the early afternoon for Queenstown.

Military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa on Tuesday night denied knowledge of an attempt to kill Chief Matanzima. He said the former president was free to ask the Military Council to investigate the matter.

Indian Congress Criticizes Solidarity's Reddy

MB2711135390 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1212 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 27 SAPA—The Transvaal Indian Congress [TIC] has hit out at Solidarity leader, Dr J.N. Reddy, who led a delegation to meet F.W. de Klerk on Monday [26 Nov], accusing him of "trying to sneak to the negotiating table through the back door."

In a statement phoned to SAPA on Tuesday the TIC said it was "arrogant" of Dr Reddy to claim the right to participate in negotiations when "both the House of Delegates [HOD] and Solidarity do not enjoy the support of the people."

The TIC said only those with support should negotiate and they called for a non-racial elections to a constituent assembly to elect delegates to participate in the negotiating process.

According to the TIC the HOD is discredited in the Indian community and it was "an insignificant political force with no real constituency."

The statement called on Indian MPs to resign and said both Solidarity and the National People's Party should "state publicly that they are prepared to submit themselves to the democratic process and allow the people to choose who is to represent them at negotiations."

28 Nov Press Review on Current Problems, Issues

MB2811045090

[Editorial report]

THE CITIZEN

Strikes, Boycotts Scare Investors—Referring to strikes, stayaways and boycotts, Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in

English on 27 November in its page 6 editorial says "this constant upheaval depresses the business mood of this country, and lack of confidence in its future keeps foreign investors away." It is time the ANC and others "appreciated that nothing is up for grabs—and that Black economic empowerment does not mean turning accepted principles of the marketplace upside down and inside out. Indeed, if they want to inherit a South Africa that is a going concern, they had better create a climate that will keep entrepreneurs here and encourage foreign investors to put their money into this country."

THE STAR

Difficulties of South African Riot Control—Helmoed-Romer Heitman, the South African correspondent to JANE's DEFENCE WEEKLY, on page 22 in the "Opinion" column of Johannesburg THE STAR in English on 28 November discusses riot control in South Africa, saying the police have "for so long been so grossly underfunded that they simply do not have the manpower." "Far from matching mob numbers, the SAP [South African Police] deploys in groups so small as to be barely noticeable, and often in acute danger." In 1976 there were several cases of 50 policemen facing mobs of 3,000 or more, and in 1990 "it is not much different." The level of riot violence inflicted by the rioters is another factor Heitman discusses. "In South Africa, mobs have gone beyond killing policemen, and have often killed passing civilians." Therefore, close contact methods are "immediately unusable, except where police can avoid being outflanked or surrounded, or having their formation broken up. Riots cannot simply be left to burn themselves out—that would claim too many innocent lives."

BUSINESS DAY

Economist Warns Against Discrediting ANC—Ronnie Bethlehem, group economics consultant at Johannesburg Consolidated Investment, writes on page 8 of Johannesburg BUSINESS DAY in an article titled "Trying to Discredit the ANC is a Short-Sighted Ploy," that it would be a "dangerous delusion" for De Klerk to believe that by discrediting the ANC "he will be able to achieve a coalition of anti-ANC support that would give him victory in an eventual open election." The ANC remains "the only organisation that could possibly deliver the support of a large majority of blacks on a negotiated settlement on a new constitution." Bethlehem points out "four realities" of the ANC. Firstly, the ANC has mass black support. Secondly, the ANC itself needs to accept that "it is nowhere near being ready to govern." Thirdly, whites should be aware that the ANC "embraces the broad philosophical and personal values that whites also share." Fourthly, De Klerk and whites "need the ANC, and need it badly." Therefore, strategists and racial ideologists on the government side should "be doing as much as they can" to prevent the ANC "from falling apart."

SOWETAN

Violence Worsens—The "irony" is that the violence in the country "seems to have worsened since February 2, when the country's political life appeared to be improving," declares Johannesburg SOWETAN in English on 28 November in a page 6 editorial. "The optimism, both here and abroad, was premature as the country has been racked by violence that defies description." While it is "proper" to tell the government to "act with vigour, the ordinary man cannot escape blame if he does not help stamp out this menace."

CITY PRESS

ANC-Pac Closer Links Welcome—Johannesburg CITY PRESS in English on 25 November in a page 10 editorial is "glad" the ANC and the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC) are reported to be forging closer links. "We can only hope the PAC will now reconsider its early stand on negotiations. Their presence—after these new developments—will certainly strengthen rather than weaken the ANC's demand for a new government."

CAPE TIMES

De Klerk Sets 'Unwholesome Precedent' on Death Squads—President F.W. de Klerk "would do well to reconsider the unresolved question of death squads," warns Cape Town CAPE TIMES in English on 26 November in a page 6 editorial. "President De Klerk erred in retaining the services of General Magnus Malan, who failed so lamentably in discharging his duty to Parliament and the nation." CAPE TIMES does not believe it is a "question of revenge." Once the guilty have been identified and convicted, "let them by all means be included in President De Klerk's amnesty. If this course is not followed and an unwholesome precedent is allowed to stand, an evil heritage will return one day to haunt us."

ILANGA

South Africa To Blame for Transkei Power Struggle—Durban ILANGA in Zulu for 26-28 November in a page 4 editorial says: "The clash of the military in Transkei recently, that left Colonel Craig Duli and others who were attempting to overthrow the government dead, is a despicable act that should not be encouraged in black countries. Even though it is said that Col. Duli has not been on good terms with General Bantubonke Holomisa since 25 March 1988, the attempted overthrow was highly unnecessary. The two men should have sat down first and tried to resolve their differences. This would have been easy since the two men teamed up to overthrow George Matanzima's government. It was Gen. Holomisa who taught Col. Duli and others that the Transkei government can be overthrown successfully. It is dangerous to teach people violence." "An easier way of changing the leadership is through the ballot box, and it must be voiced openly that the said leader is no longer desirable, and reasons given for this. But then, the Transkei situation is not normal, because Gen. Holomisa himself came to power through a

coup d'etat, and maybe these others wanted to emulate him. South Africa is to be blamed too, for it is its policy of separate development that fed the people of Transkei ideas of self-determination, and now they are busy fighting for power among themselves even on the eve of a new South Africa." "South Africa has admitted to spending 1 billion rands per annum on the upkeep of the Holomisa government, funding without which it would long have collapsed. We therefore urge South Africa to launch a thorough investigation into what is happening in Transkei."

* CP's Changing Concept of 'White State' Viewed

91AF0120c Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 14 Sep 90 p 9

[Article by Hennie Serfontein: "'White South Africa' Becoming Smaller and Smaller"]

[Text] The Conservative Party (CP) will more than likely be forced to make drastic alterations in its current partition plans over the course of the next year, because of changing circumstances.

This will inevitably mean the renunciation of the ideal of a territory for "White South Africa" and the acceptance of various smaller regions where the whites will be able to exercise their "right to self-determination."

All indications are that these dramatic developments are unavoidable. But they will only happen if, after a great deal of maneuvering, the CP ends up taking part in the multi-party conference.

This will all depend, however, on whether the members of such a conference—and especially the ANC [African National Congress]—recognize the principle of the right of "nations and peoples" to self-determination.

The above-mentioned prognosis may perhaps appear far-fetched and unreal to most people. But in recent talks with prominent CP members, several important issues have been raised.

In recent months the CP has already begun to depart from certain important aspects of the inflexible ideology of the Verwoerd policy. A process of deep soul-searching and debate is going on among CP leaders concerning important policy aspects and future strategy.

The surprising new flexibility of the CP—although little of it appears to outsiders—is the direct consequence of the de Klerk initiatives. It is evident that officially the CP still adamantly refuses to take part in negotiations where the ANC is represented. But there is a growing realization that the CP is thereby becoming phased out, isolated and left behind, to its own disadvantage.

There are some who realize that ultimately negotiations always involve policy compromises.

When the CP was founded in 1982, its policy was simple. It was the old apartheid policy of Verwoerd as implemented by Vorster.

This policy was founded on the policy of black homelands, with the ideal that ultimately everyone would accept political independence.

And together with this acceptance, the existing apartheid laws would be much more strongly enforced, with the objective of consolidating the black states more effectively and removing "undesirable black spots" from white South Africa and into the homelands.

This meant the use of pass laws, in accord with which ten thousands of blacks were taken into custody, and the unrelenting use of influx control measures. Under these laws all urban-dwelling blacks, in compliance with the Verwoerd doctrine, were temporary inhabitants; and in no case were they entitled to political rights within the "white state."

This policy also includes the fact that, despite more far-reaching actions taken to consolidate and expand the homelands, white South Africa would still occupy 85 percent of the total land surface.

With that policy the CP waged its battles against the NP [National Party] in the elections of 1987 and 1989.

The CP election manifesto of 1989 propagates the idea of partition as enabling a people to exercise "its self-determination under its own government free of all restraint."

It states that: "The nucleus of the CP policy is that there is a part of South Africa that belongs exclusively to the whites and in which the whites will govern themselves. The CP does not begrudge the same right to other peoples in the rest of South Africa."

The old pass laws and influx control measures will be reestablished, and "non-white urbanization will be restricted to a minimum in white South Africa."

Thus this clearly implies a return to Verwoerd's dream.

But since the beginning of the year, at the time of the parliament session and in certain carefully worded addresses by CP leader Dr. Andries Treurnicht, a very significant shift in emphasis can now be discerned within the CP leadership.

First there is now talk of a smaller white South Africa. Also the "black peoples" will no longer be forced to accept the principle that the rest of the country must be partitioned on the basis of separate states for each separate people.

Secondly, a great deal more emphasis is suddenly being placed on the concept of the "right to self-determination," while less is said by certain CP leaders about partition as such, whether in regard to independent states or any single independent state.

Koos van der Merwe, the chief spokesman for the CP, says that after provision has been made for the black peoples and the liberal whites, "the remainder is recognized as White South Africa. This is the territory of the white people."

He recognizes that it is now the official line of the CP that a shift in emphasis has taken place.

Van der Merwe explains: "The CP now says that, where in the past the emphasis was placed on the principle that every black people must have its own fatherland, we now say that the emphasis has shifted away from the other peoples to the white people."

"The other people in that part of the country outside of white South Africa may themselves determine whether they wish to have separate states or a unitary nation. We cannot dictate this to them."

In this connection a statement made by Treurnicht at the popular meeting at the Voortrekker Monument on 26 May of this year is highly significant. He declared:

"Our people must also realize that with their votes they are going to state whether they want to be citizens of a white republic or whether they want to be included in the racially mixed, black-dominated Azania of the ANC, the Democratic Party (DP), and the NP."

"You have the right to say whether the land of which you are the lawful owner will be located in Azania or in the white nation."

A debate on this issue is currently going on among CP leaders, who realize that their former, traditional claims to what has for decades been considered part of "White South Africa" have now become unrealistic.

There is a grudging acceptance of the fact that all the urban blacks can no longer be sent back to homelands.

One important reason for that change is the fact that in the past few years the NP government has eliminated a number of apartheid measures—such as the pass laws. The CP has had to face new realities.

Van der Merwe puts this in the following terms: "In the present talks there is a feeling that we shall need to accept the fact that certain segments of White South Africa have been integrated to such a high degree that there will be areas that we shall have to surrender."

In this connection the CP policy is thus beginning to coincide with that of the Boer Nation Party, which gives up as a lost cause such already integrated cities as Johannesburg.

Van der Merwe acknowledges: "In the past few years a situation has developed, as a consequence of which we in the CP must take note of changing realities."

"A new challenge now faces the CP: How can we in this changing South Africa still implement the right of whites to self-determination?"

"In the ideal form of self-determination, a people must be able to govern its own fatherland free of all constraint. But where we make decisions as participants in a changing process, it may not always be possible to attain to this self-determination entirely free of constraint."

Wim Booysse, the political and security analyst from Pretoria, says that it is most important that the concept of the "right to self-determination" in CP terminology has been emphasized most particularly during recent months.

He claims that this brings the CP into agreement with a politically constitutional conception that is internationally acceptable.

Booyse emphasizes: "In 1920 Lenin was already declaring that nations have the right to self-determination. This appears in the manifestoes of the ANC, FRELIMO [Mozambique Liberation Front], ZANU [Zimbabwe African National Union], and many other revolutionary organizations. It is also the basis on which Eastern Europe and the Republics of the Soviet Union make their appeal."

In another internal debate that has recently begun among CP leaders, there is a search for formulas that will ultimately be laid upon the conference table, despite the fact that they are currently rejected by the ANC.

From a CP standpoint, acceptance of the principle of the right to self-determination in one or other form, will make it easier for them to find these formulas.

At such a conference the CP will present its already somewhat scaled-down "White South Africa" concept.

There they will be confronted with the demographic and other realities of South Africa. And there—reluctantly—they will begin to get hold of the idea that their plan cannot be realized.

But in order to allay justified white fears and defuse rightist violence, proposals may develop from such a process, to secure the acceptance of white rights to self-determination in a few regions, which will amount to the smallest part of the country.

Such signal developments do not lie on the horizon. They are on the agenda for 1991.

* Ethnic Versus National Identity Debated

90AF0120A Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 7 Sep 90 p 9

[Article by Audrey Brown: "A Nation or a Collection of Tribes?"]

[Text] Foreign newspapers in particular are branding the current black conflict as intertribal warfare. The London SUNDAY TELEGRAPH report of two weeks ago called South Africa a "disconnected confederation of warring tribes, some white, some black, and several that are neither of the two."

THE ECONOMIST, an influential British newspaper, glibly describes the death-dealing combats that have claimed the lives of more than 500 people as "not the Inkatha against the ANC [African National Congress], but Zulus against Xhosas."

But various academics reject that analysis, noting that blacks are classified into ethnic units for political and administrative purposes.

Ari Sitas of the University of Durban says that the concept of "tribe" is a "discredited ethnological concept. Tribe is a word that was created by colonial anthropologists to describe 'the other.'"

This means that throughout Africa, the designation of "tribes" is actually a rather recent phenomenon. People have indeed lived together in groups of the same language, customs, and value systems, but they have not excluded other people.

According to Professor Harriet Ngubane, an anthropologist at the University of Cape Town, there has always been contact between various groups.

"It was hardly strange for people who had different languages and customs to trade with one another, to intermarry and even to merge. People were first tribalized, so to speak, at the end of the last century," she claims.

"This word is used solely to describe a conquered people. It tries to make it appear as if this is a concept that belongs only to poor blacks, and then only as a way of creating one's identity. It is not something mystic. I should go further and say that the use of the word 'tribe' and of other similar words reveals the arrogance of Western education."

Irrespective of the fact that the concept of "tribe" is questionable, the way white governments have used it has seldom taken the reality of things into account.

In the first place these "tribes" vary greatly in size, from a few hundred people to the estimated 682,000 members of the Mosheshwe of South Sotho. The average was probably two or three thousand families, says Professor Hammond-Tooke, a social anthropologist from the University of Witwatersrand.

The essential distinguishing feature of those tribes was that they existed on a small scale. Decisions were made on the basis of consensus. It was quite possible for a tribal chief to take action in opposition to the wishes of his people, but there was always the danger that dissatisfied tribal leaders might then break away and join forces with other tribes or tribal domains.

This did happen constantly, and often tribes speaking different languages and even having different customs have joined forces. The situation was in constant flux, and borders between tribal groups or alliances were

difficult to determine, because tribes that could potentially belong to different tribal groups had more in common with one another.

What makes the matter even more complicated is that "tribes" have often remained independent. Even in the case of supreme chieftaincies, where a supreme chief "ruled over" an entire group of tribes, the subject tribes in the domain of such a supreme chief were politically independent of one another. The seniority of the supreme chief was primarily a matter of ritual, enabling him to initiate the annual first fruits festival.

Changes arose with the discovery of gold and diamonds in the mid-nineteenth century. Then the colonial powers found it necessary to unite the independent Boer republics and tribal domains under a single administration in order to take better advantage of those discoveries.

Thus the Union of South Africa was created in 1910, and the Natural Land Areas Act of 1913 was promulgated, with the purpose of setting up a more effective network of administration and job recruitment. And in order to justify the distribution of land, ethnologists set their hands to the task of creating separate histories, languages and customs for black groups.

Groups that had never yet been associated were thrown together under a tribal leader. Those who complained about it were deprived of their hereditary titles and others put in their places. Of course, there was opposition to all those plans—as early as 1906 the Bambatha rebellion had taken place in Natal, where this artificially imposed government had been in force since the 19th century.

It was at that time, in the first few decades of the 20th century, that the hated practice of forced displacement was implemented for the first time.

In 1927 the Department of Native Administration acquired the absolute power to break up tribes anywhere in South Africa and to join them together as they saw fit.

They began to put in place umbrella government organizations, under which tribes were simply incorporated. It was from these administrative structures that the homeland system ultimately developed in the fifties.

What all this means is that the idea of a homeland with an umbrella government is "totally foreign" to traditional structures, according to Hammond-Tooke.

"There was a fundamental break with tradition. There were absolutely no traditional models for those broader structures, because tribal structures were founded on independent tribal domains, under a hereditary chieftaincy."

It is a revealing and informative fact that the only native South African example of a larger scale political structure was the totalitarian Zulu nation ruled by Chaka—a nation that excluded the Zulu tribes south of the Tugela, which now form a part of KwaZulu.

But while that process was under way, another trend in the opposite direction began to develop. People began to look beyond the borders of artificial tribal identity to bring about a more far-reaching unity between all groups.

According to Terror Lekota of the ANC, that awareness was created by the phenomenon of urbanization. "People met one another in the minefields of Kimberley and the Transvaal and in boarding schools such as Healdtown in eastern Cape Province. Religion also played an important role in the creation of a wider identity. At the beginning of this century the black church broke away from the mainstream to found the 'Ethiopian' movement. All of this became part of a nationalism that reached out beyond the tribe."

There was also the educated black elite who traveled abroad, where they came into contact with new ideas. In order to crystalize the new awareness, new organizations were founded throughout the country. In 1881 an organization called Imbumba yaManyama (Black Unity) was founded. And in 1912, with the establishment of the ANC, Pixley kaSeme, the first president of that organization, called upon Indlu yaManyama—The Black House—to issue an appeal for unity.

But a strong ethnic identity does already exist among both white and black South Africans.

Speaking of physical force, Sitas says: "Without doubt there were those who tallied up their truncheons and knives in an attempt to protect the pride of the 'Zulu Tribe,' but this is an oversimplification of a complex process."

For Ngubane this ethnic identity was distorted by colonialism and apartheid. Such distortion is clearly seen in the myths and stereotypes that South Africans have created in order to describe one another.

Vernon Zulu, who lives in Soweto, says that with the outbreak of the current violence she was too ashamed to speak her mother tongue. Asked whether she really considers herself a Zulu, she says:

"Yes, I am. But this does not mean that I am in any way different from other people. Yet I know that people have certain conceptions about Zulus. They think, for example, that Zulus are bellicose and homicidal. They also say that other groups such as the Tswanas are cowardly. And the Xhosas are supposed to be dishonest rascals."

But the worst victims of this kind of mythologizing have been the Shangana.

According to Charles Mabaso, himself a Shangana-speaking activist, the "bad reputation" of the Shangana and Pedi peoples can be explained within the context of the migratory labor system. The Shangana and the Pedi are the last ethnic groups to have been urbanized. They are thus not yet wise in the ways of township living.

Those groups are also much more visible in that they retain their ethnic costumes and customs.

The Shangana are often the object of jokes such as the following one: The Lord decides to change the natural order of things—all groups are to receive promotions. The whites become angels, the blacks become whites, and the apes become Shangana.

Colored people are believed to be very quarrelsome and are said never to wash their dishes. After eating, they just break them. In the black community there is the myth that whites are not overly fond of hygiene; they wash their clothes in with their dishes. And the belief even exists that white women have unnatural relationships with their dogs, which accounts for the fact that they love those animals so much.

For Ngubane all of this is the natural consequence of a policy of "divide and conquer."

We must remember that South Africa consists of groups that were divided up unnaturally over a very long period of time by colonial victory and apartheid. Thus a great deal of work has to be done to build a nation.

"But ethnic identity is not something to be ashamed of. In a healthy society, such identification, for that is already what it is, should not threaten the society. The time must come when people will be able to say that they are South Africans but also Afrikaners or whatever. This is purely a way of identifying oneself."

* Failure of Territorial Separation Ideal Viewed

91AF0120B Johannesburg VRYE WEEKBLAD
in Afrikaans 7 Sep 90 pp 10-11

[Article by Hennie Serfontein: "Racist Dream or Feasible Solution for Conflict?"]

[Text] South Africa was first a "white republic," and blacks had to exercise their political rights in homelands. Now South Africa suddenly belongs to everyone who lives here, and now white rightist conservatives want to provide a homeland for themselves.

In white politics the option is now: partition or else democracy within a unitary state. There are fewer gray areas.

It now appears to be certain that the whole partition concept will be laid on the table at the contemplated constitutional conference early next year. Thabo Mbeki of the ANC [African National Congress] recently praised Professor Carol Boshoff, codirector of the Afrikaner Peoples' Watch, for his willingness to come and expose his viewpoint on this matter at the conference table.

Actually, however, at its most basic level, this remains a question of land. The fact that blacks have suffered the loss of control of their own land for a period of more than three centuries, so that today they own less than 14

percent of their own fatherland, makes for a very emotional and potentially explosive question today. Then, too, the PAC [Pan-Africanist Congress] makes the restitution of land to the indigenous black inhabitants one of its most important demands.

VRYE WEEKBLAD will look at the debate over partition and the redistribution of land from all aspects during the following weeks. We begin with a historical overview of political partition during the past 348 years and a brief review of the demands expressed by the various rightist parties.

A) White nation, Boer nation, or people's nation?

All the different rightist groups see eye to eye with respect to a policy of partition, but sometimes differ fundamentally over how this policy is to be carried out.

First there is the "white state," the policy of the Conservative Party (CP). Since its foundation in 1982, the CP policy has been based on the old National Party [NP] policy of Hendrik Verwoerd. This means that the largest part of South Africa must be white, with ten independent or self-ruling black people's states that are created on an ethnic basis.

In the past seven years, however, this policy has in certain respects undergone important changes in emphasis.

Without requiring the CP to spell out the details, it is now accepted and acknowledged that the region over which whites are to exercise political control will be far smaller than is presently the case.

Much more important still, there is no longer any insistence on how the rest of South Africa must look; that it will have to consist, for example, of separate black states such as is presently the case.

MP [Member of Parliament] Koos van der Merwe, speaking for the CP, says: "We believe that a portion of South Africa belongs to the whites. Which portion this is will be determined either by negotiations or by violence.

"But violence is not our choice. Whatever we said about the determination of black South Africa in the past, we now feel that it is not up to us to dictate it. The blacks themselves must decide between separate states or a unified nation."

Those words are a noteworthy attenuation of the traditional white policy during the previous century; they represent a relinquishment of former traditional "white" territories.

Secondly, there is the concept of the "Boer Nation," fathered by the ultra-rightist Robert van Tonder. This is supported by the Boer Nation Party, the AWB, and many other extra-parliamentary rightist groups.

This concept requires the restitution of the two former Boer republics, Transvaal and the Orange Free State, together with the reincorporation of certain North Natal districts into Transvaal.

"The Boers" are the Afrikaans speakers of Transvaal and the Free State, to distinguish them from "Afrikaners" who live elsewhere, so the argument goes. The Cape and Natal are thus considered expendable, as well as the independent and self-governing black homelands within the Free State and Transvaal and probably urban areas such as Johannesburg and Soweto as well.

This policy thus represents a still greater attenuation of white political control and a withdrawal of white power in an even larger portion of South Africa than is the case with the CP policy.

Thirdly, there is the notion of the "Afrikaner People's Nation," as represented by the South African Bureau of Racial Affairs (SABRA) and the "Foundation for Afrikaner Freedom." People such as Carel Boshoff and Chris Jooste play a leading role in the advancement of this concept. It is a radical proposal that terminates white political control over the largest part of South Africa. A third Great Trek by Afrikaners into Namaqualand in northwest Cape Province and parts of the Karoo along the Orange River is in the planning stages.

An Afrikaner People's Nation founded on white work is under consideration. One fundamentalist Christian moral principle is that a minority cannot forever suppress a majority. For this reason a separate Afrikaner nation can be justified only if the Afrikaners within the borders of that nation are far in the majority. The ideal is that there be no blacks whatever, or only a minimal number of them. In that respect, it thus differs fundamentally from the "white nation" and the "Boer nation" concepts.

In a certain sense one may almost describe the above-mentioned attenuation of white control in all three plans as a "liberal tendency," for in practice it means a withdrawal of Afrikaners and the acknowledgment by rightists that white domination over all of South Africa is forever at an end.

B) Historical Survey of Territorial Ideas

What many Afrikaners are now experiencing is the end of an era that has lasted some 300 years. Ultimately they are confronted with the fact that the goal they have pursued for some 300 years has never worked out.

The present rightist proposals for partition and separate white, Boer, or Afrikaner people's nations are the dying gasps of the ideal of political separation based on race.

Historical Perspective

"The last 300 years of history prove that it is still never seriously practiced and that it has never worked," says Dr. Nic Olivier, former professor of Bantu administration and Democratic Party politician.

Veteran historian Floors van Jaarsveld sees this "as an escape from reality, a yearning after a past that no longer exists and the dream of a utopia that can never be realized."

But he does understand the present shock that many Afrikaners experience, in that the government is now taking a direction directly opposed to the historical tradition of political separation and rejection of majority rule.

This tradition begins in 1655 with the building of a hedge to protect the Dutch in the Cape against the Hottentots. It runs through the Great Trek, the foundation of the Boer Republic, the recognition of the separate existence of Zululand and British Kaffraria (the present-day Transkei) under British control, up to and including the establishment of the Union.

Van Jaarsveld says that the apartheid policy of the NP government failed completely during the last four decades. Black urbanization and the total integration of the economy under an apartheid government is a reality of which the political consequences must be accepted today in a unitary state.

Radical

If the notion of partition had still been seriously considered during the twenties of this century, he feels, this might perhaps have worked if the whites had been prepared in a radical way to make much more land available to the blacks.

In the years just after the formation of the Union in 1910, leaders such as General's Louis Botha and Barry Hertzog took a strong stand in favor of political and territorial segregation.

The result was the Law of Native Territories of 1913 which restricted black possession of land to a small part of South Africa. Later, even the negligible indirect black participation in parliament was progressively discontinued.

Government

In 1921 Hertzog delivered a fiery appeal for political separation and partition: "No one can prevent the blacks from ultimately getting the vote. You cannot deprive a people of its political rights."

But in fact, for decades there were very few fruits resulting from this appeal. Years later, in 1957, a bitter G.D. Scholtz, historian and newspaper editor, complained that nothing is really ever accomplished:

"Any government that wants to try to apply the slightest antidote to the preservation of white civilization in southern Africa, will immediately be defeated by us Afrikaners."

After 1948, individual prime ministers such as D.F. Malan, Hans Strijdom, and Hendrik Verwoerd made it clear that territorial separation was an ideal but not a practical policy.

Thinkers

Intellectuals and thinkers have tried to shock the Afrikaner into accepting territorial separation. G.D. Scholtz writes: "Do the Afrikaners have a future as a people?" and H.J.J.M. Van der Merwe: "Segregate or Die!"

All to no avail. No one is listening, least of all the government.

In 1956 Professor F.R. Tomlinson released his long-awaited report on the Bantu territories. Develop them economically in a dramatic way, he recommended; create job opportunities on a large scale in order to turn the black stream toward the cities; found a development corporation; and make use of white capital and expertise.

Verwoerd

But the dogmatic Verwoerd rejected the most important of Tomlinson's recommendations—which in any case fell far too short of the goals, especially concerning investments by whites and development.

Olivier says: "Verwoerd was directly and personally responsible for the fact that proper economic development of the black territories had not taken place. On his own he had wrecked the policy of territorial separation."

Verwoerd and the NP government clashed with SABRA, which was more liberal at that time. Olivier was then vice-chairman, and other liberal academics played leading roles.

They appealed for territorial separation, and in the late fifties they also made contact with radical black leaders in the ANC.

Ironie

Under pressure from Verwoerd, SABRA was purged in 1960, Olivier was unseated, and the liberals were asked to resign under protest. This marked the end of SABRA as a liberal organization.

Ironically, the first rightist opposition to the NP began in the late fifties in the government of Verwoerd. The reason: the government was in the business of giving away white territories to the "Kaffirs."

Fritz Smit, the former LPR [expansion unknown] from Pretoria, rebelled in 1959, and in 1966 the Republican Party of Professor C.F. Van der Merwe—wholly dissatisfied rightist nationalists—contested the creation of Bantustans or black homelands.

Critics

But in the Verwoerd and Vorster Cabinets of the sixties, Blaar Coetzee, that hothead and former SAP [South African Police] member, made promises splashed with spittle, to win the liberal critics over. He boasted: "By September of 1978 the developments in the black homelands will be enough to lure the blacks out of the cities."

The year 1978 came and went. The homelands remained dens of poverty and undevelopment; and by the eighties, the black stream into cities had actually increased—despite four "independent" and six "self-ruling" black nations.

Shortly after the take-over of P.W. Botha in 1978, the reports, first of the Riekert and then of the Wiehahn commissions, appeared.

The former accepted the permanence of the urban blacks as an irreversible fact, and the latter found that black workers were a permanent part of the work force of South Africa, thus opening the way to the formation of black trade unions.

Olivier writes: "When the permanency of the black urban dweller was accepted at last after so many years, everything began to fall to pieces concerning the apartheid policy.

"With that the dream of reaching the impossible was crushed."

Dream

In 1986 the government accepted the concept of an undivided South Africa. At the beginning of 1990 the government dissolved all the restraints that had been imposed on the ANC, associating it with a democratic South Africa in a unitary state and thereafter completely renouncing the dream of territorial separation and apartheid.

Today, in the last decade of the 20th century, it is the CP and other groups that are once more pursuing the dream of territorial separation in an effort to stop the inevitable.

Angola

Central Committee To Meet 28-30 November

MB2711132890 Luanda Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1200 GMT 27 Nov 90

[“Full text of the press release” issued by the Department of Information and Propaganda of the MPLA-Labor Party Central Committee; date and place not given—read by announcer]

[Text] The MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola]-Labor Party Central Committee will hold its 26th ordinary session between 28 to 30 November 1990 under the chairmanship of Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the MPLA-Labor Party.

During the session the Central Committee will assess the Political Bureau report on the activities carried out between January-August 1990; analyze the implementation of resolutions approved by the 24th and 25th sessions; and assess the report on the activities carried out by the Central Control and Audit Commission during the aforementioned period.

The Central Committee will conduct an in-depth analysis of the country's political and military situation, as well as the efforts that have been made within the framework of the peace process. The session will (?discuss) the general aspects of the general revision of the Constitution, and the draft law on the creation of a consultative state organ seconded to the presidency of the Republic.

Finally, the Central Committee will discuss other points relating to the party's internal affairs and the holding of the third party congress. It will also be informed about the reconstruction efforts for the mausoleum [words indistinct] and the drought victims relief program.

Mauritius

* De L'Estrac on Rethinking Diego Garcia Policy

91AF0213A Port Louis WEEK-END in French
28 Oct 90 p 4

[Text] “The government did not say that it was prepared to capitalize on the American presence on Diego Garcia, but it believes that new reflection is necessary to separate the two questions that are related to it, that is, Mauritian sovereignty, and military security resulting from the Gulf situation.” This is what Foreign Affairs Minister Mr. Jean-Claude de L'Estrac indicated to WEEK-END after the press conference-summary of his first official mission to several capitals.

Elaborating on this new reflection, the minister said that on the question of sovereignty, the island of Mauritius has once again reiterated to the United Nations and the U.S. State Department its demand for return of the Chagos archipelago. Mr. De L'Estrac said he reminded

his interlocutors that the same principles of international law should apply for all, including Mauritius, whether a nation is an oil producer or not. He mentioned the two UN resolutions, 1514 and 2066, specifically condemning Great Britain. Today, according to the chief Mauritian diplomat, the Gulf situation has upset the status quo. He also offered the following observations: “We are no longer in the military logic of superpowers in the Indian Ocean. The Cold War and ideological confrontation have come to an end, and have been replaced by new security requirements for the small states. We recognize the risks that medium-sized powers can pose for the international community as a whole. The politico-military vacuum left by the superpowers permitted Iraq's invasion of Kuwait.”

In response to another question WEEK-END posed on reconciling that new reflection with the reality of the American presence that poses a nuclear threat to the region, Mr. Jean-Claude de L'Estrac said that the ideal remains a denuclearization of that part of the world, but that recent events in the Gulf states must be considered regardless of their alignment in the military structure. The minister also indicated to WEEK-END that the United States, Great Britain, and France have withdrawn from the ad-hoc committee preparing for the Indian Ocean Peace Zone Conference on a procedural issue.

The minister had spoken previously of the different stages of his mission, saying that the Mauritian proposal to organize a Multilateral Aid Fund for countries affected by the Gulf crisis had received a favorable response, and that in addition, Egyptian President Mr. Hosni Mubarak had promised his support in that effort. The Mauritian initiative for lifting the embargo for a shipment of petroleum products it had been scheduled to receive, as had four other countries, the Comoros, the Seychelles, Zambia, and Zimbabwe, is being studied by the UN Sanction Committee working group. On this issue, which he brought up with the exiled Kuwaiti emir in Taef [Saudi Arabia], Mr. De L'Estrac obtained a guarantee that these products would be sold at the prices obtained before Iraq's invasion of Kuwait. After his conversations with the emir, the latter also accepted cancellation of the interest owed by Mauritius to the Kuwait Fund, totalling 51.1 million rupees, and offered concessional rates on Kuwaiti tankers for transporting the petroleum products.

With regard to the Tromelin problem, the minister spoke of holding a meeting of legal experts next 17 and 18 December in Paris. In France, the minister met with various individuals who informed him of Prime Minister Mr. Michel Rocard's desire to be personally present at the summit of the heads of state of the Indian Ocean Commission.

In addition, when asked about the status of Mauritians in Kuwait, Mr. De L'Estrac said that as of today 12 of them had left that country.

Mozambique

Chissano Set To Announce 'Major Changes'

MB2811070790 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1454 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Johannesburg Nov 27 SAPA—The Government of Mozambique has made major changes to its Constitution and is expected to introduce a multi-party political system and market-related economic system.

Informed sources in the Mozambican capital, Maputo, have said the constitutional changes had already been promulgated at a special plenary session of the Popular Assembly and are expected to be implemented on Friday [30 Nov].

For some months there has been talk about a multi-party system in the country, but hopes for the move had been dashed by numerous breakdowns in talks between the government and the rebel Mozambique National Resistance.

Economic problems have beset the Indian Ocean country for years and it is now regarded as one of the poorest nations in the world.

An announcement by Mozambique President Joaquim Chissano about the major constitutional changes is expected to be made before Friday, the sources, who declined to be named, told SAPA.

USSR To Withdraw From Beira Tool Project

MB2711131790 Maputo Domestic Service
in Portuguese 1030 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The Mozambican Government is looking for alternative funding for the completion by Beira city's Metalotecnica metallurgical enterprise of an agricultural implements factory. The project is being implemented with financial assistance from the USSR, but the DIARIO DE MOCAMBIQUE newspaper reports that the USSR has meanwhile indicated its desire to withdraw from the project due to an alleged lack of funds.

The agricultural implements factory will produce 5,000 tons of assorted items annually.

Namibia

Opposition Parties Submit Delimitation Plan

MB2711174490 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN
in English 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Balkanisation of Namibia?"]

[Text] The so-called Multi-party Committee on Delimitation submitted a highly cumbersome proposal for the division of the country into regions and constituencies to the Delimitation Commission yesterday.

The Committee is composed of virtually all the opposition parties in the National Assembly with the exception of the National Patriotic Front.

Political observers have been waiting anxiously to see exactly what type of proposals the Multi-party Committee would come up with.

The submission put forward by the Committee recommends 12 regions for the country and an incredible 115 constituencies for regional elections.

No surprisingly, its proposals clearly reflect the long-held fears of the opposition parties about domination from the northern region of the country.

The Multi-party proposals virtually disenfranchises the people of the so-called Ovambo region by diluting their votes to the point where they become virtually worthless.

Not surprisingly, the DTA [Democratic Turnhalle Alliance]-led parties also want to neutralise Windhoek which, as the capital, was a significant victory for SWAPO [South-West African People's Organization] in last year's elections. In contrast, a disproportionately high value is attached to the votes in other regions for unexplained reasons.

It is almost inevitable that the Multi-party Committee, led by the DTA, will be accused of gerrymandering and trying to manipulate the electoral system to its own advantage.

Even rough calculations, that disregard the question of eligible voters, show how blatantly the Multi-party Committee is trying to 'rig' the system.

In the Multi-party proposal the largest region in the country, Ondangua, with 418,000 residents, is given only 12 representatives for its Regional Council.

The second largest, Oshakati, with 196,601 residents, is also only given 12 representatives and the same applies to Windhoek which is the third largest with 168,428 residents.

On the other hand the smallest region, Omaruru, with 48,254 residents, is given the disproportionately large number of eight representatives. So is the Caprivi with 49,480 residents while Keetmanshoop with only 66,038 residents is given a full 10 representatives.

What this means in effect is that a vote in Caprivi is worth 2.64 times as much as a vote in Oshakati.

Quite unfairly a vote in Keetmanshoop is worth 2.15 times as much as a vote in Windhoek.

The really shocking statistic is that a vote in Omaruru will be worth a whole 5.78 times more, or nearly six times more, than a vote in Ondangua.

Apart from everything else it makes one wonder what the Multi-party Committee has got against the people of Ondangua, in particular.

None of this would be really important if it was not for the fact that the number of regional representatives will determine representation in the all-important second chamber of Parliament.

Surprisingly, the Multi-party Committee scarcely even bothered to offer the Commission an explanation for these anomalies. By way of apology it told the Commission "...this is mainly because of the shortage of time; detailed motivations will follow in a week or two."

With regard to the north they offered the lame excuse that delimitation in that region of the country was extremely difficult because of the "paucity of geographical data."

The Multi-party Committee further tried to argue that there were too few "natural" landmarks and too few roads in the north.

"...(T)he information on the distribution of the population is practically non-existent," they also claimed.

Apart from the obvious injustices in the Multi-party proposals the other worry is whether the country will be able to carry the expense of 12 regions and 115 constituencies.

The Committee said it was aware of the criticisms leveled against the old ethnic governments.

"We should therefore guard against the mistake of having too many paid politicians in the regions," it wisely remarked.

Completely ignoring its own wisdom, the Committee then goes on to say that an insufficient number of regional representatives would undermine the concept of genuine, popular participation in government.

The Multi-party Committee represents Action Christian National, the DTA of Namibia, the Namibia Independence Party and the United Democratic Front.

Dr Kenneth Abrahams served as the convenor of the committee and drafted the proposal on its behalf.

Bank Governor Discusses Reasons for Resignation

MB2711174190 Windhoek THE NAMIBIAN
in English 22 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed report: "Bernard Spills Beans"]

[Text] The Governor of Namibia's Central Bank, Dr Wouter Bernard, broke his silence on the question of his resignation yesterday with the shock announcement that Finance Minister Dr Otto Herrigel asked him to resign.

"It was not my wish to leave the post, particularly as I have taken it up so recently, but if you are asked to go by the Minister of Finance then you go," Dutch-born Bernard explained.

His decision to speak about the matter was prompted by fear of misrepresentation of what actually happened.

According to Bernard his resignation was requested because of a disagreement between himself and Herrigel over the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the Bank.

The Governor argued that the bank's board of directors was its highest authority in terms of the Bank of Namibia Act. Herrigel took exception to "the way I gave information to the Board", Bernard said. "The situation had been rumbling on for a while but the Minister's request came as a surprise."

Bernard said a decision on the matter was "a question of principle" and that he was supported on the autonomy issue by the rest of the Board.

"To me it is important that the spirit of the Bank's constitution is adhered to and its autonomy is protected. Of course a Central Bank can't be a really independent institution, but it shouldn't be just part of the Ministry of Finance."

Bernard admitted to feeling very disappointed about the way things had gone. He arrived in the country in July and his wife followed in August. His contract with the Namibian government was for five years with a yearly review clause built in.

"My wife and I had begun to build something up in the country and were looking forward to our time here. Now we will be heading back to the Netherlands more quickly than we thought."

If Bernard gets his way, his departure will come even sooner than the three-month period of notice he is expected to serve. When he submitted his resignation to the Cabinet 11 days ago he also requested that the three-month period be shortened.

In general, though, the Governor was philosophical about his situation "I held a public function and in that kind of job, like politics, anything can happen."

Neither did he think the public would be served by his opposing the Minister on the issue. "I could have refused to go but a request from the Minister of Finance that the Governor of the Central Bank resign is a pretty serious matter," he said.

An answer on the resignation is expected from the Cabinet next Tuesday [27 Nov]. If Bernard's request is granted the government will be stuck without a Governor for its key financial institution.

Bernard, who was recommended and whose salary was paid by the International Monetary Fund (IMF), thought the position would be "very difficult" for Namibia to fill.

Would he reconsider his decision to resign if asked?

"That's highly unlikely in the circumstances", he said, "but I would reconsider. Such a reaction would change the whole picture."

Cabinet Refuses Resignation

MB2811082690 Johannesburg SAPA in English
0731 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Text] Windhoek Nov 28 SAPA—The Namibian cabinet has refused to accept the resignation of the governor of the country's new Central Bank, Dr. Wouter Bernard, according to Windhoek news reports on Wednesday [28 Nov].

Dr. Bernard announced his resignation earlier this month, after informing President Sam Nujoma, and cited differences between himself and Finance Minister Otto Herrigel over the autonomy of the bank as the main reason for his decision.

"There is no difference of opinion between the governor and the government on the issue of accountability of the bank to the government," Dr. Herrigel told a media briefing outside state house in Windhoek on Tuesday [27 Nov] night.

"As far the independence (of the bank) in monetary policy matters is concerned there are no differences," Dr. Herrigel added.

Dutch-born Dr. Bernard, who was recommended for the position by the International Monetary Fund, was appointed in July. The IMF also pays his salary.

Newspaper Reaction

MB2811045890

[Editorial report] Political Interference Causes Bank Governor Resignation—Windhoek TIMES OF NAMIBIA in English on 23 November in a page 2 editorial alleges that the resignation of the governor of the central bank in Namibia was a result of "political interference in the affairs of the Bank." This is a "disturbing development." "Who is to watch over the state's finances? Not even a minister who had been an executor of bankrupt estates now seems able to do so in an efficient manner, unless he remembers how easily one can fall off a steep cliff in the professed execution of one's duties."

UK Government To Extend Defense Force Training

MB2711134090 Johannesburg SAPA in English
1238 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] Windhoek Nov 27 SAPA—The British Government is to provide a second year of training for the new Namibian Defence Force (NDF), the British High Commission in Windhoek said in a statement on Tuesday [27 Nov]. The news was contained in a letter from British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher to President Sam Nujoma on Saturday.

Britain originally agreed to supply an advisory and training team to help the NDF for one year after independence in March this year. In October, following talks with British Secretary of State for Defence Tom King during a visit to Namibia, the Namibian Government requested an extension of the training period.

"In her response to President Nujoma, Mrs Thatcher welcomed the contribution which the team's presence had made to the Namibian Government's policy of reconciliation," the statement said.

The two governments agreed that a smaller team would perform the training during the second term. The first group comprised 55 men and the size of the future team would be discussed shortly by military experts from both sides, the statement concluded.

Seychelles

* Quality Emphasized for New SPDF Officers

91AF0168A Victoria SEYCHELLES NATION
in French 15 Oct 90 pp 1, 2

[Article: "SPDF Prefers Quality Over Quantity, Michel Says"]

[Text] The Seychelles Peoples Defense Force (SPDF), through the creation of new training opportunities, is concentrating on the quality of its troops rather than the quantity, said James Michel, chief of staff.

Mr. Michel spoke to a group of new soldiers Saturday morning after a swearing-in ceremony attended by members of the Defense Council, senior officers, and other guests from SPDF headquarters at Belo.

The new soldiers have undergone four months of basic training at the Police Military Training Center (MTC) at the Lil-di-Swet Defense Academy (SDA).

In his speech, Mr. Michel reminded the soldiers that the SPDF should set an example of "our pride, dynamism, and positive attitude" toward the building of a new society.

"That is why we are focusing on the quality of our soldiers, rather than just their numbers, and why we put so much emphasis on training," he said.

For the same reason, the SPDF has built an academy for the training of officers, noncommissioned officers, and troops and established a "system to provide all possible career development opportunities for any soldier with the capacity, desire, and determination to advance," Mr. Michel noted.

"We need to create a force of whose actions, attitude, philosophy and principles the nation can be proud," he said.

"Our ability and vigilance will enable the Seychellois people to live in peace so long as we do our job effectively," Mr. Michel added.

He also said loyalty and discipline were among the "important principles on which our organization is founded."

One new soldier, Private Keven Sidonie, said earlier that his comrades in the force find the SPDF a place "where people can study, grow, and learn skills (as well as) participate in military activities."

Liberia

Sawyer 'Will Not' Immediately Grant Elections

AB2711184890 London BBC World Service in English
1709 GMT 27 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] When the ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] talks do get under way, one of the key issues could be whether interim President Amos Sawyer is willing to offer Charles Taylor a new deal, for instance more positions in the interim government. We have this report from Scott Sterns in Monrovia:

[Begin studio announcer recording] Sawyer and a small delegation left on the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] helicopter for Freetown this morning where they were scheduled to board a chartered plane for the Malian capital. In a breakfast interview, Sawyer said that he had been on standby to travel since the weekend and has decided to attend after receiving a telex from the Malian foreign minister, arguing that the interim government should be represented at the highest level in Bamako. Sawyer's Foreign Minister Baccus Matthews is already there.

President Sawyer said that negotiations about cabinet positions and increased representation in the interim legislative assembly for Charles Taylor might be possible in the framework of a larger agreement. But, he said, the interim national assembly will not immediately yield to Taylor's call for new elections. There have been many opportunities for Taylor before, so he said. We have a government installed now, and its existence is nonnegotiable. There is much that needs to be done to rebuild Liberia and this interim government will be taking the lead.

A meeting of the interim legislative assembly is planned for next week with or without Taylor's representatives. [end recording]

Radio Says Taylor Given 'Presidential Treatment'

AB2711214490 Gbarnga Voice of the National
Patriotic Front of Liberia Radio No. 2 in English
1900 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Text] The ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] extraordinary summit on the Liberian crisis got under way this morning with the Liberian head of state, President Charles G. Taylor, accorded the preeminent place. President Charles Gankay Taylor was accorded (?top) diplomatic and security protocol on his arrival in Bamako on Monday [26 Nov] amid the tightest security ever seen in African summits. The Liberian president was met on arrival by the president of Mali, Moussa Troare, and was accorded (?with) presidential treatment.

On arrival in Bamako, the Liberian chief executive held a series of talks with other West African leaders on the

Liberian situation. Reports from Bamako say there are strong indications that the Bamako summit will at least bring a halt in the current controversial role of the ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] in the Liberian civil war.

(?It is generally considered) at the ECOWAS summit that Nigeria (?flouted) the boundary law of ECOWAS to exceed its mandate by sending troops to Liberia in the guise of peace. The prevailing consensus in Bamako today is one of disapproval of the role ECOMOG has played in the Liberian civil war. At the same time, there was a mood of optimism among participants at the current ECOWAS summit in Bamako that prudence will however prevail so as to bring the civil war in Liberia to an end.

(?On other fronts,) citizens throughout the country continue to pray for peace under the leadership of President Charles Gankay Taylor. A middle-aged woman (?has) asked to pray out loud for President Charles Taylor and for peace in the ongoing civil war.

By all accounts, peace will definitely come out of this ECOWAS summit in Bamako. Foreign countries that have misguidedly supported the losing Prince Johnson factions and the invading ECOMOG troops have come to see the true light and are now making peace overtures to President Charles Gankay Taylor.

At the Friendship Hotel in Bamako where the chief executive is staying, the presidential suite of the hotel has been inundated with protocol requests for audience by West African leaders and emissaries from other heads of state around the globe. It is no little surprise that foreign radio stations, normally hostile to President Taylor, are pouring praises for him at the current summit just for his presence. In the words of one West African foreign minister who desired to remain anonymous, Nigeria will have to pull out its troops from Liberia, whether Babangida likes it or not.

Spokesman Reports ECOMOG Attacks 26, 27 Nov

AB2711153890 Paris AFP in English 1525 GMT
27 Nov 90

[Excerpts] Bamako, Nov 27 (AFP)—West African leaders were optimistic about chances for peace in war-torn Liberia as they prepared to open a special summit of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) here Tuesday. Meanwhile Liberian rebels here to attend the summit charged that planes of the West African intervention force in Liberia bombed the west of the country on Monday and Tuesday. Tom Woewiyu, the National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) defense spokesman at the summit told reporters bombing raids were carried out by Nigerian fighters in Grand Mount and Lofa Counties near the Sierra Leone border. He said he had been in radio contact with all field commanders in the region. There was no immediate confirmation from officials of the ECOWAS-backed multinational

intervention force, known as ECOMOG, [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group]. [passage omitted]

Meanwhile NPFL spokesman Mr. Woewiyu, referring to the alleged air attack, told reporters Tuesday: "Innocent people are being rained on by bombs (in attacks) carried out by the same people that are here pretending they want to end this nightmare." He said he hoped that the reports of the bombings would not jeopardize the summit. Mr. Taylor had no plans to leave the meeting he added. An angry Mr. Woewiyu said he had informed ECOWAS Secretary General Abass Bundu of the attacks, asking him if he was "really serious for peace." "We call on our brothers and leaders on this continent to find a lasting solution, and hopefully they can have some mercy," he said, adding that he was still "optimistic" for a political settlement to the conflict. "We don't want to be provocative. We're going to try to find a solution, he said. But he added that the rebels might have to "go back into the bush and do what we have to do" if the fighting does not end soon.

Mr. Taylor on Tuesday met with foreign ministers forming a sub-committee of ECOWAS' standing mediation committee. Thirteen of the 16 heads of state attending the meeting have arrived. Presidents from Mauritania and Guinea are not attending, while Liberia is not being represented at the head of state level. [passage omitted]

Responding to accusations that West African forces had bombed NPFL positions in Cape Mount and Lofa counties, ECOMOG press secretary Nkem Agetua said: "If it was true that there was bombing, it must have been provoked." Mr. Agetua said, however that he could not confirm "what actually happened" because "unfortunately we have not had the privilege of that radio contact."

He said ECOMOG was not fighting, but rather keeping a buffer zone between the warring factions, particularly rival rebels loyal to Prince Johnson and Liberian government troops which signed a ceasefire agreement last month in the Gambian capital Banjul. He said ECOMOG, led by Nigerian General Joshua Dogonyaro, had come to Bamako to "witness the signing of the agreement" by the "intransigent" Mr. Taylor. Mr. Woewiyu's surprise announcement was seen as threatening to stall efforts by ECOWAS heads of state gathered here to end the civil war.

Mali

Reportage From ECOWAS Meeting in Bamako

Taylor's Bodyguards Disarmed

AB2711163890 Lagos Domestic Service in English
1500 GMT 27 Nov 90

[From the "Correspondents Reports" program]

[Text] The extraordinary summit of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] on the

Liberian crisis will begin this evening in Bamako, Mali. All the West African leaders except that of Mauritania have indicated their intention to attend. State House correspondent Reginald Okochie, who is covering the summit, now reports:

[Begin Okochie recording] The five heads of state of the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee have just concluded their preparatory meeting during which they reviewed the operations of the peacekeeping force in Liberia. Their meeting, which went into six hours of last night, was adjourned until this morning. Other heads of state of the organization have arrived for the special summit.

The main rebel leader in Liberia, Mr. Charles Taylor, is already in Bamako for the conference. He arrived yesterday with a 40-man team of heavily armed bodyguards. Soon after his arrival, Charles Taylor, who was wearing a (?work) suit, changed into a bullet-proof combat uniform. The ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] field commander, Major General Joshua Dogonyaro, immediately registered a strong protest to the Malian authorities to disarm Mr. Taylor's bodyguards so as to ensure the security of delegates to the summit. It was later understood that Charles Taylor's bodyguards were driven to an army barracks where they were disarmed and camped.

Meanwhile, Nigeria's minister of external affairs, Retired Major General Ike Nwachuku, has said that the presence of Charles Taylor was an indication that he had seen reason and realized the futility of continuing with the 11-month old civil war. In a separate interview, the ECOMOG field commander, Maj. Gen. Joshua Dogonyaro, again gave assurance that the casualty figure on the Nigerian side was very minimal. He said he was very proud of the bravery, discipline, and professional performance of Nigerian soldiers in Liberia. From the Malian capital, this is Reginald Okochie reporting. [end recording]

Misunderstanding Causing Delay

AB2711183490 London BBC World Service in English
1615 GMT 27 Nov 90

[From the "Focus on Africa" program]

[Text] Talks are supposed to be getting under way in the Malian capital, Bamako, today to try and end the Liberian civil war. At least everyone is there this time. The West African nations, who have been the most active in the intervention force, ECOMOG [Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS, Cease-Fire Monitoring Group] and who have sponsored the creation of the interim government led by Amos Sawyer, are present, and so is Ivory Coast, which has been seen as supporting the rebel leader, Charles Taylor, and Benin too, which has never been happy with ECOMOG's involvement. And for the first time, Charles Taylor

himself is present at such talks, and even the OAU president, Yoweri Museveni is there. The main talks were meant to be getting under way about now though at the moment they seem possibly delayed by a dispute between ECOMOG and Charles Taylor's delegation. Ofeibea Quist-Arcton is in Bamako, and about an hour ago Robin White asked her what has been happening.

[Begin recording] [Quist-Arcton] Well since the talks between Charles Taylor and the Mediation Committee of ECOMOG, which ended at 3 o'clock this morning, there seems to be total confusion. Today the talks were meant to continue at 10 o'clock, but at around midday, Tom Woewiyu, who is the defense spokesman for Charles Taylor and the National Patriot Front [NPFL] rebels, looked very annoyed and stalked the lounge area of the Amitie Hotel, where the Bamako summit is taking place, and he walked through to another room with the ECOWAS executive secretary, Abbas Bundu. They were for about 20 minutes together and nobody knew what was really happening, and when Tom Woewiyu surfaced he said that there had been bombing raids by ECOMOG on rebels near the Sierra Leonean border.

[White] And was he threatening to pull out of the talks because of this?

[Quist-Arcton] I put that very question to him. He said no because they were in Bamako to try and find a settlement to the one-year war in Liberia, but he said they wanted some assurances from ECOWAS and from ECOMOG that they would stop bombing rebels, and he said it seems to be very two-faced for representatives of ECOWAS, their heads of state and so on, to be here in Bamako talking peace when, in fact, they were continuing the war in Liberia.

[White] Has ECOMOG yet responded to these claims?

[Quist-Arcton] We have just had a press conference with the press secretary of Commander Dogonyaro, the ECOMOG field commander. Mr. Nkem said that if anything, if ECOMOG had attacked in the two counties as the NPFL is claiming, it is because they were provoked.

[White] And he is not apologetic?

[Quist-Arcton] Not really. I mean he said that everybody had come around to Bamako to talk peace, and he felt that the people who were really sticking out and were not agreeing to a peace settlement until now was the NPFL, that the remaining soldiers in President Doe's army had agreed to talks, that the other dissident rebel leader, Prince Johnson, had agreed to talks, and now really, the ball lay in the court of Charles Taylor's rebels.

[White] So what is going to happen now? Are the talks going to get under way or not?

[Quist-Arcton] We ask exactly the same question now. What the ECOMOG representative is saying is that they do not have a mandate to go and talk to Charles Taylor's rebels direct, so consultations are going on behind closed

doors between representatives of ECOWAS and presumably representatives of Taylor to try and sort out this problem before the real summit can get under way. [end recording]

Summit Opens

AB2711185890 Paris AFP in French 1811 GMT
27 Nov 90

[Text] Bamako, 27 Nov (AFP)—The extraordinary summit of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) officially opened this evening at 1730 GMT in Bamako in the presence of the current OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni, it was noted in Bamako. Thirteen heads of state making up the organization (16 countries) were present at the official opening ceremony. The only heads of state who were absent were Presidents Lansana Conte of Guinea and President Maaouya Ould Sid' Ahmed Taya of Mauritania, and Liberia no longer has a head of state since the death of Samuel Doe. The summit was initially scheduled to open mid-afternoon, but it was delayed for about an hour and a half because of difficulties that surfaced during the preliminary discussions, it was learned from reliable sources.

Traore, Others Comment

AB2711220690 Bamako Domestic Service in French
2000 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Excerpts] The Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] extraordinary summit on Liberia officially opened at 1730 GMT in the Djama Hall of the Friendship Hotel in the presence of the current OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. Thirteen heads of state and two delegation leaders from Mauritania and Guinea were present at the opening session. Three addresses marked this solemn ceremony. The first speech was made by the secretary general of the Democratic Union of the Malian People [UDPM] and president of the Republic, General Moussa Traore, who stressed that this summit will not be a tribunal and must show its determination to solve the dispute. Let us listen to President Moussa Traore.

[Begin Traore recording] It is a real pleasure for the people of Mali, their party, the UDPM, and their government to welcome these illustrious guests and their delegations to Bamako on the African soil of Mali. We are particularly thankful to the current OAU chairman, who despite his heavy schedule has traveled a long way to come and support the efforts of our organization. We also laud the presence among us of our eldest statesman, President Felix Houphouet-Boigny, whose wisdom will constitute a great advantage to our deliberations.

Dear guests, once again I would like to welcome you by sincerely expressing my great thanks and profound gratitude to you for choosing to organize this first ECOWAS extraordinary summit of the heads of state and government in Bamako. [passage omitted]

Peace in Liberia is a great challenge to our community and to Africa as a whole, and we can only meet this challenge by burying our differences and closing the page of the past no matter how painful it is. Together we should objectively and realistically look for concrete solutions to the various aspects of the problem. By participating in this meeting, we have all agreed to submit ourselves to the virtue of truth and in mutual respect contribute to the search for peace and understanding. Wisdom commands us to refuse transforming this summit into a tribunal. Our summit will not try anybody. It will try to establish hopes of peace for the people of Liberia and all the peoples of West Africa. The tragedy that is taking place in Liberia has gone on too long. We need to put a definite end to it and give priority to mutual understanding and forgiveness in the superior interest of the people of Liberia and peace. [applause] [passage omitted] [end recording]

The second to speak was President Yoweri Museveni, current OAU chairman. He lauded the massive participation of the heads of state at this summit and said that the present situation in Liberia, before anything else, requires the use of dialogue. He reiterated the OAU's willingness to help ECOWAS find a peaceful solution to the Liberian crisis. [passage omitted]

The last speaker was Sir Dawda Jawara of The Gambia. As the current ECOWAS chairman, he analyzed and presented the situation in Liberia as well as its effects on the other countries of the subregion. [passage omitted]

ECOWAS Heads Comment

AB2711172090 Bamako Domestic Service in French
1500 GMT 27 Nov 90

[Recorded passages in italics]

[Excerpt] Today 14 African heads of state are meeting in Bamako to participate in the extraordinary summit of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS], a summit that will be devoted to the Liberian crisis. Apart from 13 ECOWAS heads of state present in Bamako, we also have the chairman of the OAU, President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda; the leader of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia, Mr. Charles Taylor; and ministers representing the heads of state of Guinea and Mauritania.

Upon his arrival yesterday in Bamako, Sir Dawda Jawara, president of The Gambia and current ECOWAS chairman, stated that the community expected a return of peace in Liberia and an immediate cease-fire from this summit. Among the heads of state who arrived today in Bamako were Captain Blaise Compaore of Burkina Faso. According to the chairman of the Popular Front, the Bamako summit will be a historic one for ECOWAS.

[Compaore] *We hope that this Bamako meeting will be a historic one for ECOWAS in as much as we hope to reach proposals to achieve peace in Liberia and to reach better integration of the West African states. That was what we*

had to say. In any case, we want to make it a point to laud the availability of our brother, President Moussa Traore, who succeeded in bringing us together here in Bamako.

In the opinion of General Ali Saibou, the ECOWAS extraordinary summit opening today in Bamako will be the last chance to find a lasting solution to the Liberian conflict. Let us listen to the Niger head of state as he talked to our reporter Oumar Toure.

[Saibou] *You know that this is the summit of last chance regarding the Liberian conflict, so we hope that with the understanding of all parties concerned and with the goodwill of the heads of state, we shall find a lasting solution to that conflict.*

The president of Guinea-Bissau also arrived in Bamako today. Speaking to our reporter Oumar Toure, President Joao Bernardo Vieira said that what is currently happening in Liberia is catastrophic and that all the ECOWAS heads of state must help find a solution to the Liberian crisis.

[Vieira] *Our country, Guinea-Bissau, is a member of ECOWAS so we have come to participate in this extraordinary summit to discuss problems affecting our subregion, in particular the situation in Liberia. As you know it is a dramatic situation, and it is the duty of all the member states to meet for an extraordinary summit to examine this problem to avoid the same situation in any other country in the subregion. For some time now our subregion has been very calm, and what is happening today in Liberia is really catastrophic. We think all member states of the international community must help us resolve this problem amicably.*

Cape Verdian President Aristides Pereira believes that this summit is vital for ECOWAS and Liberia's survival. Let us listen to President Aristides Pereira as he talked to our reporter Oumar Toure.

[Pereira] *I think that that this summit is of vital importance for our subregional organization, ECOWAS. It is also vital for the survival of Liberia as a country and as a (?nation). We believe that this meeting demonstrates the maturity of the African leaders and the desire for unity and solidarity among the ECOWAS member states.*

For his part, the Senegalese head of state stated upon arrival in Bamako that the heads of state of the community have come to this summit with a constructive spirit. According to Abdou Diouf, the Bamako summit will not be a tribunal, but a summit that is expected to achieve a lasting solution to the Liberian crisis. Let us listen to Abdou Diouf as he talked to our reporter, Oumar Toure.

[Diouf] *Mali and Senegal share the same ambitions of building not only a lasting cooperation between our two states, but also of participating in a decisive and expeditious manner in the economic integration of our subregion and the entire West African region. Therefore, I can tell you that we have come here with a constructive spirit, in a spirit of decisionmaking. We believe that this*

ECOWAS summit will not be a sort of tribunal. We hope that it will be a summit that will try to place itself above the current situation in order to achieve lasting solutions to the Liberian crisis. It is in this spirit that we are going to work hand in hand with President Moussa Traore and all the other delegations.

Also arriving today in the Malian capital was General Mathieu Kerekou, president of Benin. He believes that the time has come for all sides to reconcile and, in particular, to reconcile with their own conscience. Let us listen to General Mathieu Kerekou.

[Kerekou] *This extraordinary summit is very important for the peoples of Africa. Indeed, we must find here in Bamako ways that will enable our brothers, who have been fighting since December of 1989, to recover the peace, because we cannot develop our countries—in particular the ECOWAS states—and build our subregion while engaging in fratricidal wars. We believe that the time has come for all sides involved to reconcile and in particular to reconcile with their own conscience. This is why, on behalf of the Beninese people and their transitional government, we thank his excellency, President Moussa Traore, for kindly agreeing to host this extraordinary summit. We shall do everything so that our Liberian friends come together around the same table, and the standing mediation committee, which is also here, will also be able to do everything to make the task easy for us.*

The Ivorian president, who is the oldest head of state here, also arrived this afternoon in Bamako. This is a significant trip when one recalls that President Houphouet-Boigny has for several years now not been attending summits of heads of state. As a matter of wisdom, President Houphouet-Boigny preferred to allow his counterparts to make the first statements. Listen to him:

[Houphouet-Boigny] *I will not make any statement. I will allow my colleagues to make the first statements.*

Finally, the last head of state to arrive in Bamako this afternoon to attend this extraordinary ECOWAS summit was the OAU chairman, Ugandan President Yoweri Museveni. Uganda is not a member state of ECOWAS, but that country's president is taking part in this extraordinary summit in Bamako in his capacity as current OAU chairman. This is the first time this has happened at an ECOWAS summit. Speaking about the Liberian crisis, Yoweri Museveni stated upon arrival this afternoon that there is a solution to every problem.

[Museveni in English with superimposed French translation] *We will try and see whether we can bring some solution to the Liberian crisis.*

[Unidentified reporter] *Do you really believe it is possible to find a solution?*

[Museveni] *Of course. There are always solutions to problems.*

As a prelude to this extraordinary summit, the ECOWAS Standing Mediation Committee met last night at the Friendship Hotel for a working session behind closed doors with the seven heads of state and delegations that make up this committee. Later, they held another working session, this time very late at night, in which participated Presidents Moussa Traore, Joseph Momoh of Sierra Leone, Charles Taylor, and the foreign ministers whose countries are members of the Standing Mediation Committee. [passage omitted]

Peace Prospects Noted

AB2811095090 London BBC World Service in English
0730 GMT 28 Nov 90

[From the "Network Africa" program hosted by Hilton Fyle; recorded passages in italics]

[Text] The first item this morning is the summit meeting of ECOWAS [Economic Community of West African States] leaders in Bamako, the capital of Mali, aimed at finding a peaceful solution to the civil war in Liberia. Yesterday, soon after the talks got under way, there was a row when a spokesman for Charles Taylor's NPFL [National Patriotic Front of Liberia] claimed that some of their positions had been bombed by ECOWAS peace-keeping forces. Well, the talks are scheduled to continue today, so here with the report now is Dan Isaacs:

[Isaacs] It was a shaky start to the summit. Although Charles Taylor had shown up with his delegation, they seemed to be in angry voice following what they claimed was continued ECOMOG [ECOWAS Cease-fire Monitoring Group] attacks on rebel targets in Liberia. NPFL spokesman, Tom Woewiyu:

[Woewiyu] *I was not only annoyed, but I think a lot of pain is going through me because I have direct radio contact with all of our people in the field. People are being killed and are being (ripped apart by) bombs carried out by the same people that are here pretending to end this nightmare.*

[Isaacs] *Does this mean Charles Taylor would be on the next flight out of Bamako?*

[Woewiyu] *Not at all; Mr. Taylor will not withdraw from the meeting, but we just had to let the world know that while we are here talking and shaking hands with everybody and talking peace, for some reason some of our good friends, who have come to help us, are on the other hand bombing (our positions).*

[Isaacs] A sign perhaps of the determination to succeed in Bamako is the fact that everyone has shown up for the talks. With 13 heads of state in all, including the new interim president of Liberia, Dr. Amos Sawyer, and OAU chairman, President Museveni of Uganda:

[Museveni] *I think the situation in Liberia since some months ago has reached that critical stage when one could*

use negotiations instead of armed operations. The situation in Liberia now, in my humble view, could be easily translated from a situation of conflict into a situation of peace.

[Isaacs] An optimistic note from the OAU chairman. But could the situation really be easily translated into one of peace? Ofeibea Quist-Arcton is in Bamako for the BBC, and I asked her what the precise mechanics of a solution might be:

[Quist-Arcton] *The dynamics are a little bit tricky, but I think there would probably be, on both sides, an immediate cease-fire followed by negotiations about the interim government and then elections as soon as possible in Liberia. But this is going to take quite a while to sort out because Charles Taylor is not at all happy with the presence of the interim government under President Amos Sawyer in Liberia, and also not at all happy by the presence of the intervention force, ECOMOG.*

[Isaacs] *But in the longer term, can you really see Charles Taylor giving up territorial control of most of Liberia to an elected government in Monrovia? Is that really a possible scenario?*

[Quist-Arcton] *If there is going to be proper peace and lasting peace in Liberia, Charles Taylor is going to have to make these compromises. And he has himself said that he wants to see the war ended in Liberia. So if it is a case of him giving up control of most of the country, because he does control it, minus Monrovia, the capital, then he is going to have to give in. But in return for this, of course, the ECOWAS and the interim government is offering Taylor and his rebels places in the National Assembly and places also in the new Liberian Government. So maybe he is giving up territory, but to gain power and a say in the running of the country.*

Front Signs Cease-Fire

AB2811154290 Bamako Domestic Service in French
1500 GMT 28 Nov 90

[Excerpt] The Bamako summit of the Economic Community of West African States [ECOWAS] ended today. It was a great success. Charles Taylor, president of the National Patriotic Front of Liberia is at this very moment signing the cease-fire agreement and the various resolutions adopted by the summit, in the presence of Sir Dawda Jawara, current OAU chairman, and General Moussa Traore, secretary general of the Democratic Union of the Malian People and president of the Republic, as well as in the presence of representatives of all sides to the conflict.

It is worth saying that the first ECOWAS extraordinary summit ended today at around 1400 at the Friendship Hotel. [passage omitted]

Senegal

* U.S., National Intervention in Gulf Hit

* No Public Consultation

91AF0204A Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
14-20 Sep 90 p 3, 8

[Article by Abdourahmane Camara: "Talk About Irresponsible"; first paragraph is WAL FADJRI introduction]

[Text] Acting alone, Diouf has decided to put us in a situation bordering on war by sending a contingent to the Gulf. Neither public opinion nor the political parties nor even the National Assembly was consulted. The decision has raised an outcry in the opposition as well as questions to which there are no answers.

How could President Abdou Diouf involve us directly in a conflict of world-wide proportions without even obtaining the blessing of the people's representatives, the deputies? More than one Senegalese citizen is bothered by that question but perhaps not as much as Abdoulaye Bathily (secretary general of the LD/MPT [Democratic League/Movement for the Labor Party]) who seems shocked by the president's action. There is good reason to be shocked. In every democratic country that has sent troops to the Gulf, one precondition was at least respected: The idea was debated in the forum of public opinion that took a clear stand, thus giving their leaders dispensation. But those countries have a strategic interest to defend in that zone: oil, which they regard as their own and which is the condition for their economic expansion. As for Senegal, what interest do we have in the region that would prompt us to send in 1,200 men (the figure cited by Abdoulaye Bathily)?

In the isolation of the presidential palace, Abdou Diouf was alone (except for his close collaborators) in deciding to put Senegal in a situation bordering on war by sending a contingent to Saudi Arabia. But who is going to bear the financial cost of the operation? That is what worries, for one, Landing Savane (secretary general of AND JEF/MRDN [AND JEF Revolutionary Movement for a New Democracy]), particularly because, as he points out, "the military forces stationed in the Gulf are not under the aegis of the United Nations." And did you know that even the Americans are beginning to ask questions about the billions of dollars to be poured into maintaining their troops and equipment. For that reason, we should not count on them to feed our contingent nor on the Saudis who are asking their friends to pay their share toward a kitty for the war effort.

The paradox in sending a contingent of Senegalese soldiers to the Gulf is that it occurs at a time when our country is threatened by serious dangers. If, with 15,000 men serving in the armed forces (gendarmes included), we already find it difficult to maintain an effective presence in the north and in Casamance (where war is now raging), what will we do now, minus a good-sized

contingent? What will we do if, in a war in the Gulf, Iraq decides to open a front on our northern border, where we have heard sabers rattling for more than a year? A hypothetical question, you say? So be it, but not one that can be ruled out, says Mr. Bathily, once our country has directly involved itself in a conflict that has taken on global proportions and is laden with potential armed confrontations.

What indeed can our soldiers do in this turbulent region? They will be so totally lacking, technically and materially, as to "risk being ridiculous," to quote Abdoulaye Bathily. They will not have access to satellite photos or to any sensitive information that is the private preserve of the "Yankees." There is no use imagining the "Yankees" would allow them to handle their sophisticated weapons. This has prompted Landing Savane to raise the question of what we intend to do "in this mess."

From a purely political point of view, the dispatching of a Senegalese contingent is considered a bad decision by the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] (whose national secretariat stated its position on Wednesday), the LD/MPT and AND JEF. The right decision, in their view, would have been participation in the mediation efforts, whether by way of the Nonaligned Movement, through the intermediary of the OAU, or by making a diplomatic initiative in the name of the Islamic world. This third possibility might well have been envisaged given the fact that Dakar will host the next summit of the OIC [Organization of the Islamic Conference] and "we would have gained in stature by it."

There To Make the Americans Look Good?

But, Abdou Diouf seemed to be much more preoccupied with making up for the time he spent hesitating, which was not appreciated by his primary Arab lenders. This has led his opponents to assert that "his decision was purely opportunistic, enabling him to make a show of support to both our Arab and Western lenders." But whatever the reasons ascribed to it, can he engage the Senegalese people in a war far from their borders without first consulting public opinion, not to mention the National Assembly, however much of a rubberstamp chamber it may be? Therein lies the question and it is a valid one because there is nothing to indicate that, in the event of an armed conflict, Iraqi bombs will not be dropped on Senegal from Mauritania. This is to say, as the opposition has said, that there is a measure of irresponsibility in the Senegalese Government's decision and the way in which it was made.

* Oil Need 'Impelling'

91AF0204B Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
14-20 Sep 90 p 3

[Editorial by Abdou Sow: "By Comparison"]

[Text] On the night of 24 August 1814, a British expeditionary force seized Washington, setting the federal

capital ablaze. The president, Mr. James Madison [Madison], his cabinet, and government employees, fled the burning city, taking refuge in Virginia. This relatively little-known episode in tumultuous American-British relations was triggered by an embargo decreed by Washington against Britain and the seizure of American ships by His Majesty's Navy. The two countries found themselves at war for the second time.

It would be interesting to know whether the thousands of men who have been mobilized aboard American warships to enforce the blockade against Iraq remembered this anniversary last month. That is not likely. Americans seem to have very short memories. Yet the Americans, who won this last war with England following the blockade, bombardments, and splendid naval combats, came out of it believing that it had served primarily to strengthen their patriotism and reinforce their national unity. As Treasury Secretary Albert Gallatin put it, "the war has renewed and reinstated the national feelings and characters that the Revolution had given and that were daily lessened." (See "An Overview of United States History" published by the United States Information Agency.)

Today, American strategists do not seem to think that the same surge of patriotism that rallied their own people against British aggression a century and a half ago could also mobilize the Iraqis against Washington's offensive. Particularly in view of the fact that despite references to international law, the only reason for this crusade is spelled o-i-l. But the Americans have made the most of the current context (the end of the cold war and the dismantling of communist systems) to draw the United Nations into a war for the defense of Washington's economic and strategic interests. Moreover, it is enlightening to juxtapose the tributes conferred on the United Nations by President Bush and his entourage since the beginning of the Iraqi-Kuwaiti crisis with the very hostile stands against the world body still emanating from the White House only two years ago. Indeed, it must be recalled that during Ronald Reagan's two consecutive terms, the American Government had seriously considered the possibility of destroying—or, at the very least, neutralizing—the United Nations Organization. The reasoning of the American leaders was quite simple, if not somewhat simplistic: It was out of the question that Washington should finance as much as 25 percent of the UN budget at a time when a majority of its member states was opposed to American policy. By way of a warning, the United States pulled out of UNESCO [UN Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization] to prove they were not kidding when they demanded to be obeyed—one might say—prorating their dues. Those were the not so distant days when blocs and ideologies determined the stands that were taken. But all of that has been swept away in the victory of capitalist ideology over its competitors. The Soviet Union, Iraq's former protector and arms purveyor, is also putting itself through the paces of wrenching reversals.

And yet, the Americans never attached much importance to the decisions of the United Nations and its specialized organizations. When the International Court in The Hague ruled against it on the mining of Nicaraguan ports, Washington publicly indicated that it had no intention of submitting to the verdict. It is therefore impossible to consider Mr. Bush's speech in favor of international law without being somewhat perplexed. The truth is that what interests Mr. Bush as well as his French counterpart and the British prime minister is control over the region's immense reserves of oil. The West's factories and automobiles must be kept running. Above all, as autumn points to winter, enough fuel must be kept flowing to heat houses in the rich countries of the temperate zone during the cold season. But these practical reasons are eclipsed by references to higher and nobler causes, particularly if it must be admitted that the ultimate reason is to enrich the multinational oil companies.

But another reason was revealed in the recent book by Pascal Bruckner, published several months prior to the Gulf conflict. The Western countries, deprived of their communist enemy and antithesis, realized that their capitalist system and its virtues need an enemy to combat in order to affirm and strengthen themselves. After Moscow and its satellites threw in the towel, the former Western bloc grew despondent. Then Saddam Husayn came along and, by annexing Kuwait, gave the Westerners an obstacle to work on.

With that, it is easier to understand why neither France, nor Great Britain, nor the United States felt the need to organize a military intervention to end the civil war in Liberia. There was nothing in those bloody events that would constitute a challenge for the Western powers to surmount. "Liberia, The Forgotten War," read the headlines of the French newspaper LIBERATION. Forgotten by whom? The West, of course, which by virtue of its superior wealth, has proclaimed itself the supreme arbiter of the world's emergencies. In any event, the following comparison gives pause: While the massacres in Liberia left the Western countries indifferent, the much less lethal Gulf crisis to date has even merited ships from Australia and Belgium. It has also given rise to a new kind of mercenary arrangement by which all the indebted countries have gone running to the Gulf in hopes that their voluntarism will buy them a reduction of their debt.

Of course, if Liberia were swimming in oil, its economy would never have been allowed to flounder in inane, fratricidal struggles. It would have had the benefit of at least one regiment of French, British, or American paratroopers, as in oil-rich Gabon, immediately following the outbreak of riots portending political destabilization and social disorder, when a friendly and effective military intervention was launched by France.

* U.S. 'Hypocrisy' Noted

91AF0204C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
14-20 Sep 90 p 8

[Editorial by S. L. Niasse: "Are Fahd and Jabir 'Muslims'?"]

[Text] Wars are not won solely on the battle field. Diplomacy is also a determinant factor, the measure of which has been learned. The interjection of religion into the Gulf crisis is interesting, however, in that it opens the field to all sorts of extrapolations. George Bush finds grounds for judging Saddam Husayn's behavior contrary to Islam; Chester Crocker, for his part, believes that the conflict has opened the door to all Muslim extremists in Africa and elsewhere in the world in a crusade against America; and even figures of some authority such as the Mufti of Egypt are issuing a call to arms in defense of Kuwait as the victim of a deliberate aggression. Let us not forget Saddam Husayn, himself, who is brandishing the torch of holy war.

What this chorus lacks least of all is hypocrisy. As if Saddam Husayn were not the proxy being armed only yesterday, for whom every Islamic source possible was consulted to legitimize the attack on Iran and to support a crusade against Islamic Iran. Khomeyni, too, was repudiated as a Muslim by Carter. Provoked into giving us a glimpse of his sarcastic wit, the late imam unabashedly called on "Hajj Muhammad Carter" to chart the right course for them.

Returning to the present, Riyadh has succeeded in convening the Muslim World League under its authority in Mecca. There is no need to search far and wide for the primary objective of such a meeting, which will be to legitimize the presence of American (non-Islamic) forces in Islam's holy places. They will have no lack of historical references to use as arguments. When the Prophet Muhammad (May God's peace and blessing be upon him) sought refuge in Ta'if, he had to live among nonbelievers and when he went into exile for the first time with his companions, he chose Christian Abyssinia (modern-day Ethiopia). But the context is not the same and Islam was not the force it is today, capable of finding the means to its own defense within the community.

Moreover, the doubts being raised about Saddam Husayn's qualities as a Muslim should also concern his adversaries at this time, to the benefit of whom they are being manipulated. Taken to its limits, the analysis raises questions about the Islamic convictions of Fahd and Jabir—the sovereigns who hoarded up gold and silver rather than spend it in the way of the Lord. On the penalty reserved for that, the Koran is unequivocal: Ardent flames await them. Nor does the word of the Prophet (May God's peace and blessing be upon him) admit any ambiguity in the following: "He who rests on his laurels, his stomach full while his neighbor hungers, is not a believer."

Similarly, the Holy Book is not to be opened to the page that gives comfort, leaving the rest to be ignored. Islam is a whole, an indivisible set of conducts.

What more can be said about these sovereigns who finance movements around the world to fight other Muslims whose veneration is founded on the love of the Prophet and the perpetuation of his conduct? It is men close to God, heads of wilayas in Africa and Asia who are finding themselves face-to-face with alliances forged by the Saudi and Kuwaiti financiers.

In these crucial, decisive times, we will simply recall, as stated in the following verse from the Koran, that "those who delight in spreading vice among believers face harsh punishment in this world and the next, for God knows and you do not," and in the following hadith, "On the person who hates someone close to me, I declare war." Has that war come?

While in the West great delight is taken in bestowing certificates of Muslim honorability with great fanfare, Bush and his modern-day crusaders obey other creeds: economic imperatives, political necessity, and even mystical reaction. In "Prophecy and Politics" (subtitled "Militant Evangelists-On the Road to Nuclear War"), Grace Halsell gives us a clear description of the influences brought to bear on the White House by certain preachers of a new evangelism. Listening to one of them, Jerry Farwell [as printed], on the theory of Armageddon, the origins of this disaster to end the world clearly lie between Libya, Iraq, Iran, the Soviet Union, and other "demons." Has that idea taken hold of George Bush to the point of leading him into such an engagement in the Gulf war? Is it possible? In any event, Falwell was not wrong when on 25 January 1986, he presented George Bush to a group of guests as the United States' next president in 1988.

With their mastery of television as a weapon, these preachers speak not only to Bush, but to tens of millions of Americans. All are persuaded that this is a war to wage against "the end of time." "For the victory of one civilization over others, vehicles of obscurantism, with Islam first in line." Enter Bush the ally of Fahd and Jabir. A man is known by the company he keeps....

* PDS Leader Charged With Press Violation

91AF0206C Dakar WAL FADJRI in French
14-20 Sep 90 p 3

[Article by A. Camara]

[Text] After imprisoning Cheikh Khoureyssi Ba, director of publication at SOPI [a newspaper], the justice system now has its sights trained on the lawyer Ousmane Ngom, leader of the PDS [Senegalese Democratic Party] caucus in the legislature. He has been summoned to appear before the Appeals Court of Dakar on 21 September to answer to the charge of offending the president of the republic in the press. After being sentenced to six months of prison without parole by the lower court, he had filed for an appeal.

Mr. Ngom is faulted for writing the following in an editorial published in SOPI: "In truth, Diouf's abdication to Collin can only have two explanations: First, that Collin has a hold over him with matters involving him or his family. Second, that Abdou Diouf would not trust a Senegalese because a Senegalese in Collin's position could harbor ambitions to take power, whereas Collin does not, for an objective reason, but also because he embodies power." That, as worded in the summons served by court officer Malick Ndiaye, is what is being held against the PDS caucus leader, charged as both a lawyer and deputy with a press violation.

It is unlikely, however, that the case will be heard on Friday. Because Mr. Ngom will be away from Dakar to respond to an invitation by the British Government, his lawyers will request that the proceedings be postponed by one or two weeks. In any event, the defendant has already made a surprising decision: He intends to ask his counsels not to plead at the opening of the proceedings. They will limit themselves to requesting an initial postponement of the case. Period.

It should be explained that Mr. Ngom is charged with complicity in this affair, as his director of publishing, Cheikh Khoureyssi Ba, is considered the primary offender. The fact that there have been two trials for the same offense committed by two different individuals who work closely together is just as surprising. But not to the judges who took the precaution of severing the case by resorting to a legal artifice, one that has proved very difficult to understand.

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